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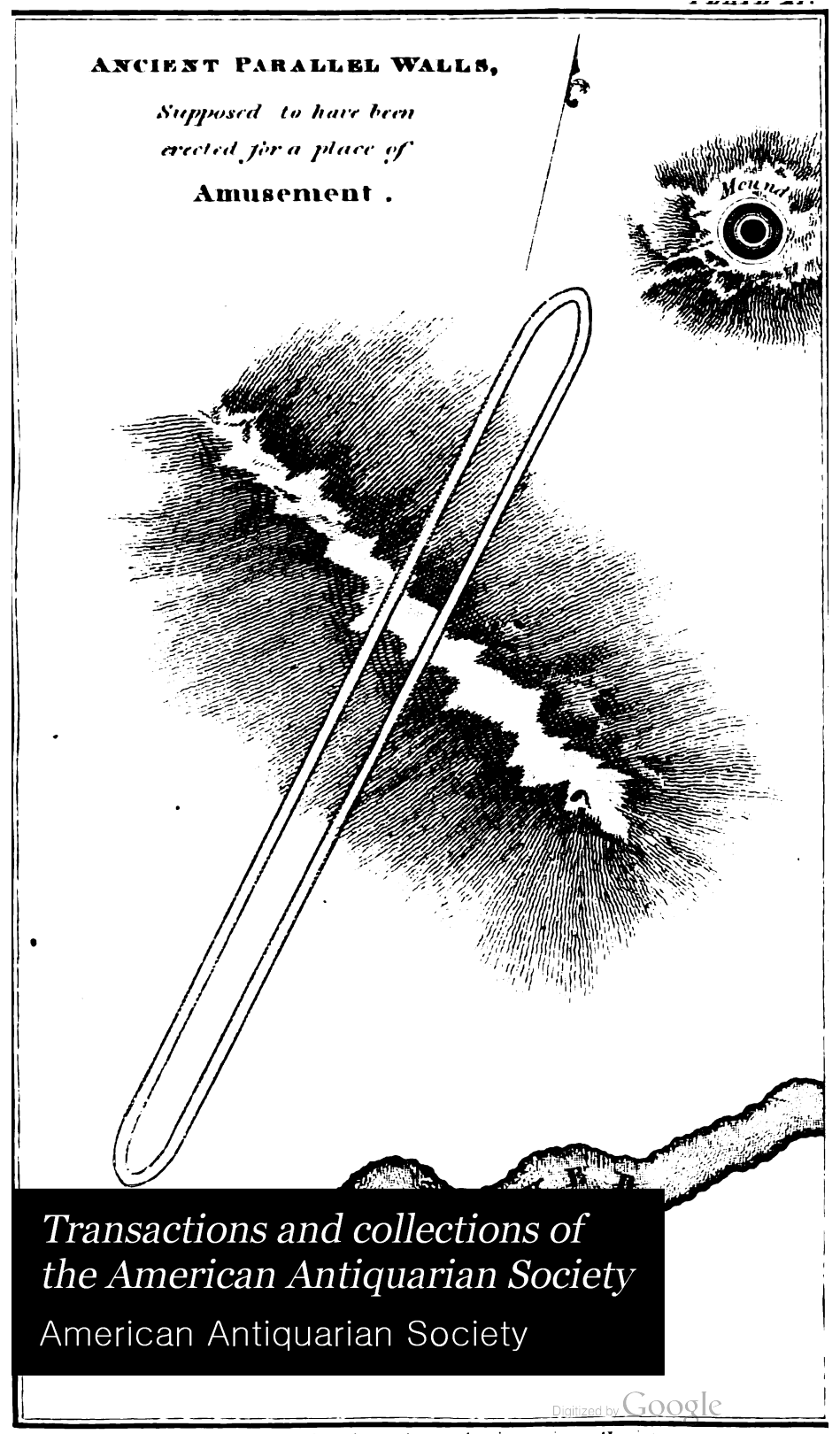

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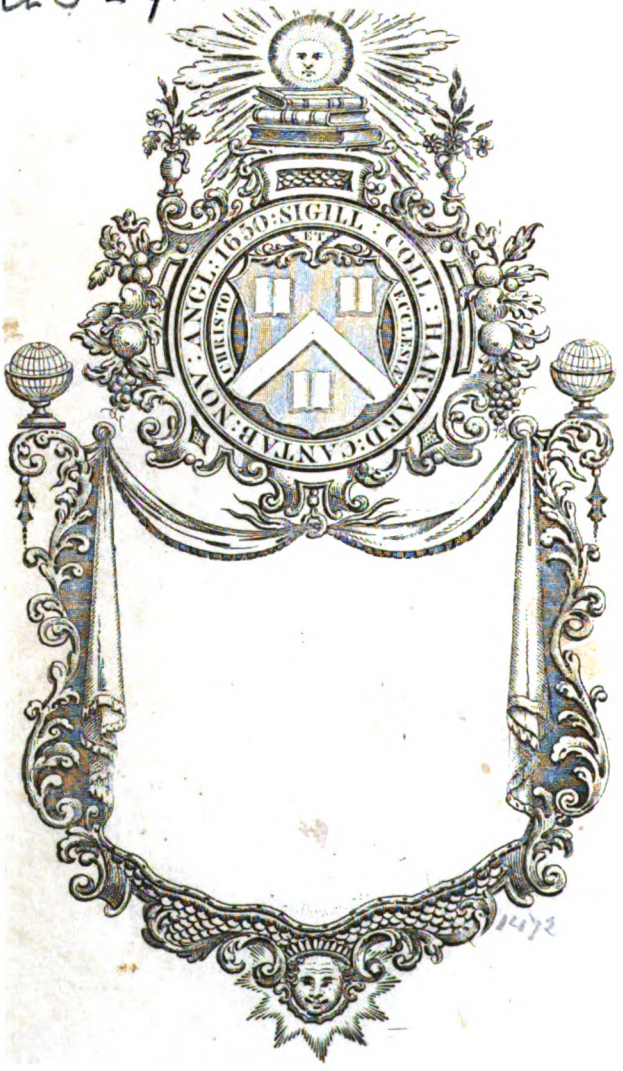

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Archæologia Americana.

TRANSACTIONS AND COLLECTIONS OF THE American Antiquarian Society.

Published by Direction of the Society.

VOL. I.

Worcester, Massachusetts;

Printed for the American Antiquarian Society

By WILLIAM MANNING:

MDCCCXX.

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PREFACE.

THE utility of Publick Institutions, formed for the express purpose of preserving valuable remains of ancient time, and of affording a safe repository for the discoveries which have resulted from the researches of scientifick and inquisitive men, has been fully tested by the experience of the old world.

The persuasion that a National Institution of a similar nature would be promotive of the interests of science, literature, and the arts, in the United States, gave rise to the AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Its origin and design are clearly stated in the introductory part of this volume. Its success has thus far exceeded the humble expectations of its founders; and the prospect of its increasing usefulness encourages the continued efforts of its friends.

In addition to the munificent donations of the President, the bequest of the late reverend and

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learned Dr. BENTLEY has enlarged the library of the Society by nine hundred volumes of the works of distinguished German authors, by copies of some of the best works printed in New England, and by a variety of rare and valuable manuscripts in the Persian, Arabic, and other languages; and has also greatly enriched their Cabinet.

Individual members are daily sending to the Society books and articles of curiosity, which will be interesting to posterity. The National, and most of the State Legislatures, regularly forward to the Library all Laws and Resolves passed by them; and there is reason to expect that a complete series of similar Acts will, in future, be received from each State in the Union. Then the writer of history, and all individuals, disposed to examine the legislative code of the respective governments, may find the whole collection in the archives of the Society.

It is presumed that the proceedings of the AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY have given a stimulus to the researches into the monuments, yet to be found, in the northwestern section of our country.

The greater portion of the original articles given in this publication, consists of descriptions of these works. These were all communicated to the President of the Society in the form of letters, and most

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of them were written with the haste and carelessness common to an epistolary correspondence. In these letters, important information was blended with much irrelative matter; and the Publishing Committee, at the expense of time and labour, was obliged, on their own judgment and responsibility, to select the parts, which they deemed most worthy of publick inspection.

The interesting and valuable communications of Caleb Atwater, Esq. of Circleville, Ohio, are presented to the perusal of the intelligent and candid reader, under the disadvantages above mentioned. They were originally the hurried productions of a professional man, constantly engaged in various branches of business; the first, and the only draughts were sent to the Society. The distance of the Author from the place of publication, rendered it impracticable to forward to him either the written copy, or the printed proof sheets, for his revisal and correction. The Committee regret the mistakes in names of places, and other errours which have unavoidably occurred from reading letters not written in a manner the most legible; but the mistakes and errours, it is believed, are not important, nor more numerous than might have been expected under existing circumstances.

More recent examination has confirmed an opinion previously formed, that the works described in

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this publication were erected by a race of men widely different from any tribe of North American Indians, known in modern times. It is also made probable, that this ancient people emigrated from Asia, made their first settlement around the waters of our northern lakes, followed in their progress southwest the streams and rivers which empty into the Gulph of Mexico, leaving in every place of their residence, traces of the degree of their civilization and improvement. If the supposition be admitted, that the descendants of this people established the empires of Mexico and Peru, it will be acceded, that their attainments in civilized life, and in the arts and sciences, at the conquest of the country by the Spaniards, were not greater, when compared with their ancestors on the Missisippi, than those which man usually makes in the path of refinement, during the period which must have elapsed.

Our knowledge of this singular nation is as yet very limited. Dr. Robertson justly observes, "It is extremely difficult to procure satisfying information concerning nations while they remain uncivilized. To discover their true character under this rude form, and to select the features by which they are distinguished, requires an observer possessed of no less impartiality than discernment." If it be thus difficult to take the picture of the living man, what must be the labour of drawing a por-

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trait of him from the works of his hands, which for ages have been mouldering away? But *nil desperandum.* Researches are now making through the western country with renewed vigour; and new discoveries are daily made.

The indefatigable Mr. ATWATER is zealously pursuing his inquiries; and in a letter recently received, he gives additional promise of a successful result of his labours. "I continue," says he, "to receive, by every mail, specimens of minerals, and drawings of ancient works, accompanied by descriptions of them; specimens of something either curious or valuable relative to the natural history or antiquities of this country. The objects themselves are numerous all over this great secondary region. It is indeed nothing but one vast cemetery of the beings of past ages. Man and his works, the mammoth, tropical animals, the cassia tree, and other tropical plants are all found here reposing together in the same formation. By what catastrophe they were overwhelmed and buried here in the same strata, I know not, unless it was the general deluge.

"Rocks containing the most lively impressions of tropical plants will soon be in my possession, through the kindness of E. GRANGER, Esq. of Zanesville. The impressions of the trunk, branches, leaves and even blossoms of the cassia have been discovered, drawn and described by him. These

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impressions are perfect, lively and distinct, on the sandstone."

Should the present work meet with publick patronage, as materials are fast accumulating, a second volume may soon be published, under the auspices of the Society.

Worcester, June, 1820.

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LIST OF OFFICERS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

[Annual Meetings for the choice of Officers are holden in BOSTON on the 23d day of October.]

PRESIDENT.

ISAIAH THOMAS, LL. D.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Rev. AARON BANCROFT, D. D.
Hon. TIMOTHY BIGELOW.

COUNSELLORS.

Massachusetts. Hon. Edward H. Robbins, Rev. William Bentley, D. D.* Benjamin Russell, Esq. Hon. James Winthrop, LL. D. Rev. William Jenks, Hon. Oliver Fiske, Hon. Nathaniel Paine, Hon. Levi Lincoln, jr. Hon. Abijah Bigelow.—*For the Old Colony,* (Plymouth) Hon. Kilborn Whitman.

Maine. Hon. Mark Langdon Hill.

Newhampshire. Hon. William Plumer.

Vermont. Elijah Paine, LL. D.

Rhodeisland. Thomas Lloyd Halsey, Esq.

Connecticut. Benjamin Silliman, Esq.

* Since the last Annual Election of Officers, the Rev. WILLIAM BENTLEY, D. D. has deceased. His place in the Council has not been supplied. The vacancy occasioned by his death, in the Committee of Publications, has been filled by the election of SAMUEL JENNISON, Esq.

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Newyork. His Excellency De Witt Clinton, LL. D. Hon. Stephen Van Renssalaer.

Newjersey. Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D.

Pennsylvania. Peter S. Du Ponceau, Esq. Rev. President Timothy Alden, *west of Alleghany.*

Maryland. John Leeds Bozman, Esq.

Dist. of Columbia. George W. P. Custis, Esq.

Northcarolina. Hon. William Gaston.

Southcarolina. Hon. Charles C. Pinckney, LL. D.

Georgia. Hugh M'Call, Esq.

Kentucky. Alexander K. Marshall, Esq.

Ohio. Caleb Atwater, Esq. Daniel Drake, Esq.

Tennessee. Moses Fiske, Esq.

Louisiana. Hon. James Brown.

Mississippi. Hon. Winthrop Sargent.

Alabama. Col. Silas Dinsmoor.

Missouri. His Excellency William Clarke.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

Rejoice Newton, Esq. Worcester, Mass.

James C. Merrill, Esq. Assistant do. Boston.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES.

Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, D. D. Dorchester; Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D. Cambridge; Samuel M. Burnside, Esq. Worcester; Samuel Jennison, Esq. Assistant do. Worcester—all in Massachusetts.

TREASURER.

Nathaniel Maccarty, Esq. Worcester, Mass.

LIBRARIAN AND CABINET KEEPER.

Samuel Jennison, Esq. Worcester, Mass.

RECEIVING OFFICERS.

The President, Vice Presidents, Counsellors, Secretaries, and the following gentlemen in the States hereafter mentioned, viz.

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Massachusetts. Nathaniel G. Snelling, and James C. Merrill, Esq. Boston; and Nathaniel Spooner, Esq. Plymouth.

Maine. Oliver Bray, Esq. Portland.
Hon. Mark Langdon Hill, Phippsburgh.

Newhampshire. John Farmer, Esq. Amherst.

Rhodeisland. William Wilkinson, Esq. and Samuel W. Bridgham, Esq. Providence.

Connecticut. Rev. Thomas Robbins, Eastwindsor.

Newyork. Theodore R. Beck, M. D. Albany.
John W. Francis, M. D. Newyork.
Jonathan Goodhue, Esq. do.
Amasa Paine, Esq. Troy.

Newjersey. Abraham Clarke, M. D. Newark.

Pennsylvania. Mathew Carey, Esq. Philadelphia.
Rev. Francis Herron, Pittsburgh.
Judah Colt, Esq. Erie.
Gen. Roger Alden, Meadville.

Maryland. Rev. James Inglis, D. D. Baltimore.
James H. M'Culloch, jun. M. D. do.

Virginia. Rev. John H. Rice, Richmond.

District of Columbia. Samuel Eliot, Esq. Washington.

Kentucky. John D. Clifford, Esq. Lexington.

Ohio. Samuel P. Hildreth, M. D. Marietta.
Daniel Drake, M. D. Cincinnati.
Nathaniel Guilford, Esq. do.
Rev. Robert G. Wilson, Chillicothe.
Hon. David Smith, Columbus.

Tennessee. Rev. Gideon Blackburn, Nashville.
Rev. David Sherman, Knoxville.
John A. M'Kinney, Esq. Rogersville.

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Ebenezer Adams, Esq. Hanover; John Farmer, Esq. Amherst, Newhampshire.

Hon. Samuel L. Mitchill, Newyork.

William Barton, Esq. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Rev. Horace Holley, President of Transylvania College, Kentucky.

Rev. Gideon Blackburn, Nashville; Rev. Charles Coffin, D. D. President of Grenville College; Tennessee.

Samuel P. Hildreth, M. D. Marietta; Hon. Paul Fearing, Marietta; Hon. John Thompson, Chillicothe; Nathaniel Guilford, Esq. Cincinnati; Hon. David Smith, Columbus; Dudley H. Rhodes, Esq. Zanesville—Ohio.

Hon. James Brown, Neworleans, Louisiana.

Silas Dinsmore, Esq. St. Stephens, Alabama.

John H. Farnham, Esq. Arkansaw, Missouri.

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Isaiah Thomas, *President.*

Hon. Timothy Bigelow.

Rev. John Peirce.

Hon. Josiah Bartlett.

James C. Merrill, Esq.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D. D.

Rev. William Jenks.

Samuel M. Burnside, Esq.

Edward D. Bangs, Esq.

Samuel Jennison, Esq.

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ORIGIN

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society.

PETITION TO THE LEGISLATURE OF MASSACHUSETTS, OCTOBER, 1812.

To the Honourable SENATE *and* HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES *of the Commonwealth of* MASSACHUSETTS, *in General Court assembled.**

THE subscribers, influenced by a desire to contribute to the advancement of the Arts and Sciences, and to aid, by their individual and united efforts, in collecting and preserving such materials as may be useful in marking their progress, not only in the United States, but in other parts of the globe, and wishing also to assist the researches of the future historians of our country, respectfully represent to the Legislature, that, in their opinion, the establishment of an Antiquarian Society, within this Commonwealth, would conduce essentially to the attain-

* Application for an Act to incorporate this National Institution was made to the Legislature of Massachusetts, from a belief, that the Congress of the United States has not a constitutional power to grant Charters to publick Societies without the District of Columbia.

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ment of these objects. At present there is no publick association for such purposes within the United States. The rapid progress of science, and of the useful and ornamental arts, in our country, may be ascribed in a great degree to the numerous publick institutions originated by patriotick individuals, but deriving their countenance and support from legislative authority. Such a society as is now contemplated, as its objects are essentially distinct from any other in our country, it is believed, may advantageously co-operate with, without in the slightest degree impairing the utility of other institutions. Its immediate and peculiar design is, to discover the antiquities of our own continent; and, by providing a fixed and permanent place of deposit, to preserve such relicks of American antiquity as are portable, as well as to collect and preserve those of other parts of the globe. By the long and successful labours of the College of Antiquaries in Ireland, their historians, it is said, have been enabled to trace the history of that country to an earlier period than that of any other nation of Europe. The researches of a similar society in England, established at a later period, at times discouraged, but now aided and fostered by the patronage of the government, have not merely furnished food for curiosity, but have provided many valuable materials for the benefit of history, the improvement of science, and the advancement of the arts of life. Almost every nation indeed of the European world bears witness to the utility of similar institutions. To the enlightened Legislature of Massachusetts, the Subscribers do not deem it necessary to exhibit more in detail the

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advantages which may be expected from such an establishment within this Commonwealth. They ask for no other aid from the Commonwealth, than the facilities which, in the pursuit of their objects, may accrue from an Act of Incorporation. As an inducement to the grant of these privileges, they beg leave to state that one of their number is, at this time, in possession of a valuable collection of books obtained with great labour and expense, the value of which may be fairly estimated at about five thousand dollars, some of them more ancient than are to be found in any other part of our country, and all of which he intends to transfer to the proposed Society, should their project receive the sanction and encouragement of the Legislature. This grant, which is designed as the foundation of a superstructure to be hereafter erected, with such other conditions as may be reasonably expected, the subscribers believe will ensure the future growth and prosperity of the Insitution.

As no injury can at any rate be apprehended from such an experiment, even if it should prove unsuccessful, and as it may be productive of much publick advantage, the petitioners flatter themselves their project will not be discountenanced by the Government of Massachusetts.

They therefore respectfully pray for leave to bring in a bill for the incorporation of themselves, and such persons as may hereafter associate with them, into a Society by the name of the AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, with the privilege of holding real estate in perpetuity of the annual value of fifteen hundred dollars, and with such other privi-

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leges and immunities as are usually granted by acts of incorporation to other publick societies established within this Commonwealth.

ISAIAH THOMAS,
NATH'L. PAINE,
WM. PAINE,
LEVI LINCOLN,
AARON BANCROFT,
EDW'D. BANGS.

Sec'ry's Office, Dec. 3d, 1812. } A true copy of the petition on file in this office.

Attest,

ALDEN BRADFORD, *Sec'ry Commonwealth.*

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

An Act to incorporate the AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

WHEREAS the collection and preservation of the Antiquities of our country, and of curious and valuable productions in Art and Nature, have a tendency to enlarge the sphere of human knowledge, aid the progress of science, to perpetuate the history of moral and political events, and to improve and interest posterity—

Therefore,

SEC. I. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and*

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by the authority of the same, That Isaiah Thomas, Levi Lincoln, Harrison G. Otis, Timothy Bigelow, Nathaniel Paine, Edward Bangs, Esqrs. John T. Kirkland, LL. D. Aaron Bancroft, D. D. Jonathan H. Lyman, Elijah H. Mills, Elisha Hammond, Timothy Williams, William D. Peck, John Lowell, Edmund Dwight, Eleazer James, Josiah Quincy, William S. Shaw, Francis Blake, Levi Lincoln, jun. Samuel M. Burnside and Benjamin Russell, Esq's. Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, Redford Webster, Thomas Walcut, Ebenezer T. Andrews, Isaiah Thomas, jun. William Wells, and such others as may associate with them for the purposes aforesaid, be, and hereby are, formed into and constituted a society, and body politick and corporate, by the name of the American Antiquarian Society; and that they and their successors, and such other persons as shall be legally elected by them, shall be and continue a body politick and corporate, by that name forever.

Sec. II. *Be it further enacted*, That the members of said Society shall have power to elect a President, Vicepresidents, and such other officers as they may determine to be necessary; and that the said Society shall have one common seal, and the same may break, change and renew at pleasure; and that the same Society, by the name aforesaid, as a body politick and corporate, may sue and be sued, prosecute and defend suits to final judgment and execution.

Sec. III. *Be it further enacted*, That the said Society shall have power to make orders and by-laws for governing its members and property, not

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repugnant to the laws of this Commonwealth; and may expel, disfranchise, or suspend any member who by misconduct shall be rendered unworthy.

SEC. IV. *Be it further enacted*, That said Society may, from time to time, establish rules for electing officers and members, and also times and places for holding meetings; and shall be capable to take and hold real or personal estate by gift, grant, devise, or otherways, and the same, or any part thereof, to alien and convey: provided, that the annual income of any real estate by said Society holden, shall never exceed the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, and that the personal estate thereof, exclusive of books, papers and articles in the museum of said Society, shall never exceed the value of seven thousand dollars.

SEC. V. *Be it further enacted*, That said Society may elect honorary members residing in, and without, the limits of this Commonwealth. And that Isaiah Thomas, Esq. be, and hereby is, authorized and empowered to notify and warn the first meeting of said Society; and that the said Society, when met, shall agree upon a method for calling future meetings, and have power to adjourn, from time to time, as may be found necessary.

SEC. VI. *Be it further enacted*, That the Library and Museum of said Society shall be kept in the town of Worcester, in the county of Worcester.

In the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, October 23, 1812. This bill, having had three several readings, passed to be enacted.

TIMOTHY BIGELOW, *Speaker*.

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In Senate, October 24, 1812. This bill, having had two several readings, passed to be enacted.

SAMUEL DANA, *President.*

October 24th, 1812. } CALEB STRONG.
Approved, }

Secretary's Office, Nov. 2, 1812.

A true copy. Attest,

ALDEN BRADFORD, *Sec'ry Commonwealth.*

NOTIFICATION AND WARNING

To the Members incorporated, to attend the first Meeting.

American Society of Antiquaries.

WHEREAS by an Act of the Legislature of this Commonwealth, passed October 24, 1812, Isaiah Thomas, Levi Lincoln, H. G. Otis, Timothy Bigelow, Nathaniel Paine and Edward Bangs, Esqrs. J. T. Kirkland, LL. D. Aaron Bancroft, D. D. William Paine, M. D. Jonathan H. Lyman, Elijah H. Mills, Elisha Hammond, Timothy Williams, William D. Peck, John Lowell, Edmund Dwight, Eleazer James, Josiah Quincy, William S. Shaw, Francis Blake, Levi Lincoln, jun. Samuel M. Burnside, and Benjamin Russell, Esqrs. Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, Redford Webster, Thomas Walcut, Ebenezer T. Andrews, William Wells, and Isaiah Thomas, jun. and such others as may associate with them for the purposes therein mentioned, were "formed into, and constituted a Society, and body politick and corporate, by the name of *The American Antiquarian Society*," for the purposes therein specified.

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And whereas, by the fifth section of said Act, the undersigned is "authorized and empowered to notify and warn the first meeting of said Society;" therefore, in conformity thereto, he hereby notifies and warns each and every of the persons above named to meet at the Exchange Coffee House in Boston, on Thursday the 19th day of November instant, at 11 o'clock, in the forenoon, then and there to take such measures as shall be necessary for organizing said Society, establishing such Rules and Regulations as shall be deemed expedient, "agree upon a method for calling future meetings," and to act upon any other matter or thing relating to the objects of said Institution.

ISAIAH THOMAS.

Worcester, November 2, 1812.

☞ The members met at the time and place appointed, and the Society was organized.

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

[At a Stated Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, September 29, 1813, a Committee was appointed to draw up an account of the nature of the Institution, with a detailed statement of its objects, for the purpose of publication. The Committee having attended to that duty, presented to the Society their REPORT, which was read and accepted, and is as follows:]

THE great benefits arising to the civilized world from associations of individuals for promoting knowledge, industry, or virtue, are universally ac-

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knowledged. It is an obvious truth, that men, without regard to nation, sect, or party, by united exertions in one general pursuit, may effect more in a few years, than could be accomplished, individually, in ages. They are so constituted by nature, that "human actions, and the events which befal human beings, have more powerful influence than any other objects, to engage and fix their attention." We cannot obtain a knowledge of those who are to come after us, nor are we certain what will be the events of future times; as it is in our power, so it should be our duty, to bestow on posterity that, which they cannot give to us, but which they may enlarge and improve, and transmit to those, who shall succeed them. It is but paying a debt we owe to our forefathers.

From combinations of this kind, the old continent, within the last century and an half, have received and diffused more light and useful information in the arts and sciences, and in the natural, civil and religious history of the habitable globe, than had been exhibited to mankind for thousands of preceding years.

The first society of scientifick men among the moderns, of which history gives us any certain information, was established near the close of the eighth century, by Charlemagne, at his imperial palace in France, by the recommendation of Alcuinus, one of the most learned men of the age. This society in time was productive of many others; few, however, appeared, which were of great advantage to the publick, or gained a permanent establish-

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nient, till the middle of the seventeenth century. Many literary and scientifick institutions were then formed, and afterwards greatly increased and spread through the several quarters of the globe. We will take notice of that class only of those societies, which had the same object in view, as the one of which we are members.

Irish historians have asserted, that "there was an ancient college of antiquaries erected in Ireland by Ollamh Fodhla, one of its kings, seven hundred years before Christ, for the purpose of composing a history of that country;" and to this, say they, "it is owing, that the history and antiquities of this kingdom may be traced back beyond that of most other nations." But the first society of Antiquaries, of which we have any authentick information, is that which originated in England in 1572, under the auspices of Archbishop Parker, Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, and others. Although it was not incorporated, its reputation gradually increased until the reign of James I. who, in turbulent times, "fearing it might canvass the secret transactions of his government, suppressed it." It was revived in the year 1717. From this time the importance of the society increased, and in 1751, it was incorporated by the name of "The President, Council and Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries" in England. "It is now in a very flourishing condition, consisting of many learned and ingenious men of the nobility, gentry and clergy, whose business, as members, is to discover the antiquities of their own, as well as of other nations." Their council, says Mr. Rees, "consists of twenty one persons, ten of whom

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are annually changed; the election of members is by ballot, by a certificate signed by three or more fellows being previously exhibited for six ordinary successive meetings, except in the case of peers, members of the privy council and judges, who may be proposed by a single member and balloted for the same day; and the choice is determined by a majority of two thirds. Every member pays an admission fee of five guineas, and two guineas a year; or, as an equivalent, a sum of twenty-one guineas. They have weekly meetings. This Society began to publish its discoveries in 1770, under the title of Archæologia."

An institution similar to that of the Antiquarian Society in England, and for like purposes, was founded in Scotland in 1780, and received the royal charter in 1803.

There is a society of Antiquaries at Upsal in Sweden, which owes its rise to Queen Christina, but its establishment to her successor, Charles Gustavus: its design is to collect and illustrate the antiquities of that country, and the northern languages. Another was instituted at Copenhagen, in Denmark, in 1742: its immediate object is to make researches into, and explain the antiquities and history of that country: it is patronized by the king. An Academy of Antiquities exists at Cortona, in Italy, the members of which are very respectable, numerous, and not confined to that country. It was founded for the study, &c. of the Hetrurian Antiquities; the chief officer is called Lucumon, by which name the ancient governours of Italy are said to have been distinguished.

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There are in Europe many other similar institutions; all of which, having proper funds, have been very useful. Many more for want of funds were of short duration.

An institution of this kind was formed at Calcutta in the East Indies, called the Asiatick Society, by Sir William Jones, in 1784; the objects of which are the antiquities, history, arts, and literature of the continent of Asia.

Among the numerous societies formed in the United States for the promotion of litérature, the useful and fine arts, and other valuable purposes, it appeared that one more might be added, which could also be truly beneficial, not only to the present, but particularly to future generations—a society not confined to local purposes—not intended for the particular advantage of any one state or section of the union, or for the benefit of a few individuals—one whose members may be found in every part of our western continent and its adjacent islands, and who are citizens of all parts of this quarter of the world.

Should it be asked, what are the intended objects of this Society?—We will answer in the words of Sir William Jones to the members of the Asiatick Society, "Man and Nature—whatever is, or has been performed by the one, or produced by the other." "Human knowledge," says he, "has been elegantly analyzed according to the three great faculties of the mind, Memory, Reason and Imagination, which we constantly find employed in arranging and retaining, comparing and distinguishing, combining and diversifying, the ideas which we receive through our

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senses, or acquire by reflection: hence the three main branches of Learning are History, Science, and Art."

The chief objects of the inquiries and researches of this Society will be American Antiquities, natural, artificial and literary; not, however, excluding those of other countries. It must be acknowledged that the study of Antiquity offers to the curious and inquisitive a large field for research, for sublime reflection, and for amusement.—Those who make inquiry, and those who make collections in this branch of science, "furnish the historian with his best materials, while he distinguishes from truth the fictions of a bold invention, and ascertains the credibility of facts; and to the philosopher he presents a faithful source of ingenious speculation, while he points out to him the way of thinking, and the manners of men, under all the varieties of aspect in which they have appeared."

As all things, which are in their nature durable, if preserved from casualty and the ravages of time, in a course of years will become antique, it will be also an object of this Society to deposit, from time to time, such modern productions as will denote to those who succeed us, the progress of literature, the arts, manners, customs and discoveries in our time, with accuracy.

Thus by an attention to these objects, which the Society hope to promote by the exertion of its members residing in various parts of this vast continent, the utility of the Institution will speedily be realized, and it may in time vie with those of a similar kind in Europe, which are now so justly celebrated.—

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Each individual of the Society, we persuade ourselves, will imbibe a belief, that its reputation, in a great degree, depends on his individual efforts; and will feel an interest in collecting and forwarding to the Librarian, the Secretaries, or to any officer of the Institution, such antiquities of our country, whether of nature or of art, as may be portable, and which he can obtain; and authentick accounts of such as cannot be transported; with such articles of modern date, as are curious and interesting, and will tend to aid the purposes of the establishment. Justice will be done to the donor—his name will live on the records.

Among the articles of deposit, books of every description, including pamphlets and magazines, especially those which were early printed either in South or in North America; files of Newspapers of former times, or of the present day, are particularly desirable—as are specimens, with written accounts respecting them, of fossils, handicrafts of the Aborigines, &c.; manuscripts, ancient and modern, on interesting subjects, particularly those which give accounts of remarkable events, discoveries, or the description of any part of the continent, or the islands in the American seas; maps, charts, &c.*

The decline as well as the rise of nations is in the course of nature—like causes will produce like effects; and, in some distant period, a decline may be the state of our country. A depository like this,

* Files of Newspapers, Magazines, or other periodical works, can be sent *annually*, or oftener, to the Receiving Officers in the State where they are published, or to the Recording Secretary in Worcester, Mass. who will forward them to the place of deposit.

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may not only retard the ravages of time, but preserve from other causes of destruction many precious relicks of antiquity, many specimens of the work of nature, and those of modern art, which once lost could never be restored.

For the better preservation from the destruction so often experienced in large towns and cities by fire, as well as from the ravages of an enemy, to which seaports in particular are so much exposed in times of war, it is universally agreed, that for a place of deposit for articles intended to be preserved for ages, and of which many, if destroyed, or carried away, could never be replaced by others of the like kind, an inland situation is to be preferred; this consideration alone was judged sufficient for placing the Library and Museum of this Society forty miles distant from the nearest branch of the sea, in the town of Worcester, Massachusetts, on the great road from all the southern and western states to Boston, the capital of Newengland.

It is almost needless to observe, that a society of this kind cannot be supported with any degree of respectability or usefulness without funds. Donations, legacies, contributions, and royal patronage, are the support of those in Europe, and have raised them to a state of eminence; and it is not doubted that there are persons in America, who are as publick spirited as those in Europe, by whose aid this Society will be enabled to pursue those researches, so desirable, into the antiquities of our country—to make valuable collections of them, and of other articles proper for this Institution, and to deposit them in a suitable, permanent building, which it is in-

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tended shall soon be erected for their safe keeping; where they may at all times be found, and be, not only pleasing, but useful to the members of historical, philosophical, and, perhaps, of other societies, as well as to individuals.

ISAIAH THOMAS, *per order.*

Worcester, October, 1813.

ABSTRACT

OF A

COMMUNICATION

Made to the Society by the PRESIDENT, *at the Annual Meeting in Boston*, 1814.

GENTLEMEN,

IN consequence of the relation in which I now stand with the Society, until some further provision shall be made for regular meetings of the Standing Council, and their powers and duties are extended, I have deemed it not inconsistent with official duties to take into consideration the general state and affairs of the Institution; to receive the suggestions of any of its members for its benefit; and to present them, under existing circumstances, to you, that such notice may be taken of them as shall appear to be expedient.

Our Society is in its infancy; but it has a legal existence, and by proper exertions will become useful to our country. Similar institutions in Europe, which now rank high in publick estimation, for many years after their formation, were not of more

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consequence to the countries wherein they were established, than the American Antiquarian Society is, at this time, to the United States.

The Books on our Catalogue will not bear comparison with those of the long established Libraries of Antiquaries in Europe.

You will, Gentlemen, see by the records, that, during the past year, the Library has considerably increased; and that, within this period, many articles have been presented for the Cabinet. Our Library now consists of nearly three thousand volumes.*

When we consider, that the vast Libraries, and the splendid Museums, possessed by similar institutions on the elder continent, had an origin as humble as ours, we may with confidence indulge the hope, that when this Institution shall have arrived at the respectable age which those now bear, its means for extensive usefulness will not be exceeded by any of the like kind in any section of the globe. But,

A Society cannot become extensively useful, unless the objects for which it is instituted, are pursued with some degree of energy. It will not be expected that we should individually devote a

* Soon after this Report was made, about 900 volumes, being the remains of the Library, formerly belonging to Drs. Increase and Cotton Mather, the most ancient in Massachusetts, if not in the United States, were presented to the Society. At this date, January 1820, the Library consists of more than five thousand volumes, beside which a very valuable addition has been made to the Library and Cabinet by the Legacy of the late Rev. William Bentley, D. D. of Salem, Massachusetts, who was a valuable member, and an officer of this Institution.

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very considerable part of our time to the affairs of this Institution; yet, without injury to himself, every member may do something for its benefit.—There are various ways by which we may contribute to its prosperity;—some may bestow a little personal attention to the management of its local concerns;—others may devise projects, by which its interest and its usefulness may be essentially promoted;—and others collect, as convenience and opportunity permit, articles for its Cabinet, and donations of books, files of newspapers or other periodical works, maps, charts, manuscripts, and various articles proper for the Institution. If each member would, at his leisure, collect and send, at least annually, something worth preserving to the Library or Museum, although the value of the gift be small, the stock of books and of articles in our Cabinet, would, in a few years, appear highly worthy of the inspection of the most profound Antiquary of this or any other country.

At this day, there are numberless old books, newspapers and magazines, and many relicks of antiquity, crowded together in garrets and storehouses, of no use to any one, and hastening to destruction by means of the weather and vermin; but, if they were deposited with this Society, many articles might be selected from them worthy of preservation, and interesting to posterity.

It would seem, at first view, a well founded observation, that by printing, and its multiplicity of copies, society was forever relieved from all danger of the total loss of any work which has been through the press; experience, however, teaches, that of

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thousands of editions of printed books, not a copy of them is now to be found; and if, of others, there may remain here and there a copy among rubbish, they are of no use, for no one knows where to search for them.

Some method should be adopted to procure, and deposit in the Library, the publications which from time to time issue from the press. This can be effected, in a great measure, if each member will enjoin on himself, annually, to present to the Society one or more volumes.

Thousands of newspapers, and other periodical works, are destroyed after they have had the usual reading. Instead of permitting this destruction, if the members would direct these publications, after having been perused in their families, to be carefully laid aside; and, if such members, once in six months, or yearly, would send them to the Society's Library, or places of temporary deposit, it would afford a sufficient supply of this necessary article for preservation.

There are but few who do not wish their labours to be known to posterity. Every author, every printer or publisher of a book, or publick journal, by sending a copy of each of the works they write, print or publish, to the Library of this Society, may have their works recorded, and deposited in the best place possible for security and preservation; and, this not being a circulating library, they will remain for centuries subject to the inspection of historians and scientifick men, and be a source of high gratification to Antiquaries of succeeding ages.

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It has been remarked, and I believe correctly, that well informed printers and the best painters, in all countries, receive more pleasure in viewing and examining the labours of those of their professions who have preceded them, than is common to those who practise other arts; and we all know that authors who write on any particular subject, which has already been before the publick, are always desirous of ascertaining how it has been treated by those who have previously taken it into consideration.—To all such, the Library of this Society will, undoubtedly, ere long, afford much gratification.

Several things have been suggested to me by members of this Society, tending to its interest.—Permit me to mention some of them.

1. That we may make the Institution better comport with the name it bears—"*American* Antiquarian Society"—and more readily effect the purposes intended, it will be expedient to have a suitable number of respectable and useful members in all the principal cities and towns in the United States, and some in the interiour of every state.

2. That it may be advisable to alter the laws so far as to have an additional number of Counsellors, not exceeding thirty—of these, to elect annually as many as may be thought requisite, and to add others when it shall appear necessary—to choose five from Boston or its vicinity, as a Subcouncil, three to form a quorum—also five in the vicinity of the Library and Cabinet, as a Subcouncil, three of whom to form a quorum—both of which Subcouncils to meet monthly, or oftener, one in Boston, the other in Worcester, to consult on measures for the benefit

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of the Institution, and that each Subcouncil should make report of their doings to the General Council, to be holden at regular times and places, and also on each day of the stated meetings of the Society;—the two Subcouncils, with such other Counsellors as may meet with them, to form the General Council, four of whom to constitute a quorum for transacting the business assigned to them in Art. 2, of the laws;—one Counsellor to be appointed for the county of Plymouth [which was the first New-England colony] and one in each of the states wherein there shall reside not less than ten members; each of these Counsellors to receive communications from the members in the state in which he resides, or from those of another state wherein no Counsellor may have been appointed, and forward them to the President, or to either of the Corresponding or Recording Secretaries, to be laid before the General Council at their then next meeting. The Counsellors chosen for other states than Massachusetts, to advise by letter, or otherwise, on any matters for the benefit of the Institution, especially such as respect the members, &c. in the states wherein such Counsellors reside. The Counsellors of every state to have a seat, and to vote at the meetings of the General Council.

3. To appoint some member in every capital or chief town in the United States, and in other parts of the continent, and wherever it may be thought by the Council to be necessary, to receive articles presented to the Society, or purchased for them, and to take the charge of them until they can be forwarded to the Library or Cabinet.

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4. To have more frequent stated meetings of the Society, by which means many things may be suggested and receive deliberation, and plans adopted that may essentially benefit the Institution. It has been already observed, that when the members of a society meet but seldom, and only for a few hours, but little business can be done, and they are thus rendered more indifferent to the concerns of the Institution than they otherwise would be; the society thereby becomes inactive, and of course of less importance to the community. The stated meetings of the Antiquarian Society in England are weekly. Some of the most celebrated literary clubs of England, France and Germany, usually held their meetings weekly, and some oftener.—Several of them have been highly beneficial to the world. The great Locke, Newton, and other scientifick luminaries, were members of such clubs. It was in them they caught ideas which led to an explanation of those mysteries in science which, till then, had not been comprehended by the mind of man.

5. I am requested, also, to suggest, for your consideration, the expedience of admitting, as members of this Society, some gentlemen who reside in various parts of Europe, the Eastindies and China. And, should it not be one of our first endeavours to extend membership to gentlemen of distinguished characters in Spanish and Portuguese America, particularly in the dominions of the former, where, it is believed, many valuable Antiquities of this continent may be procured?—Time and inquiry will undoubtedly furnish us, with the names of suitable

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persons. If our Secretaries should be requested, when opportunity permits, to open a correspondence with Societies similar to our own, in Europe, we may thereby obtain such information on this subject as will be satisfactory.*

Every measure that can be adopted to make the Society appear respectable as a National Institution, must be desirable. Cannot a sanction in some way be given to it by the National Legislature? Perhaps, by a petition to the National Government, it would permit newspapers, and other periodical works, to be sent to the Society in the mails, free of postage; and it may resolve to send the Laws, &c. of the United States, to be deposited and preserved in our Library.†

As our principal objects are to COLLECT and PRESERVE—that which demands our first attention, and on which the prosperity, if not the existence of this Institution depends, is to provide means for, and to erect a suitable edifice for deposits. At a late meeting, we voted to choose a Committee of Ways and Means to effect these purposes. As much depends on the choice of this Committee, it has been deferred till this time.‡

* Most of the measures recommended in the foregoing articles have been adopted.

† Since this Communication was made, the National Government has ordered its Laws, &c. to be sent to the Society; and the Legislature of Massachusetts have directed the Secretary of the State to furnish the Institution with two copies of all their laws and other publications which they now have, or may hereafter have. The Society have experienced like indulgence from the Legislatures of most of the other States.

‡ 1820. A building suitable for the purpose is erected.

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The location of a spot for a Library and Cabinet cannot be of so much consequence as their safety. An inland situation, experience convinces us, is more secure than a town accessible by sea; and in a small town they will not be so much exposed to destruction by fire as they would be in a large one. Many valuable Libraries have been destroyed by fire in large cities; and many, so placed, are at this time greatly exposed to the like fatality! The philosopher and the historian, or any to whom the Library and Cabinet of this Society may be useful, will not greatly regret the distance which separates them from the objects of their pursuit, if they can but eventually obtain in one place, what, otherwise, they would have to seek in many.

I cannot presume that I have stated the best methods to be adopted for making this Society what we all wish it to be; but, from a variety of suggestions for the benefit of the Institution, some may be matured so as to be productive of usefulness.

I have the honour to be,

The Society's faithful Servant,

ISAIAH THOMAS.

Boston, October 24, 1814.

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American Antiquarian Society.

Extract from the Journal of the Subcouncil.

At a Meeting of the Subcouncil of this Institution, at Worcester, Massachusetts, January 15th, 1819,

VOTED, That a Committee be chosen to draft an Address to the Members of this Society, giving a brief sketch of its objects, its progress, and its present state; and to solicit their aid in promoting the purposes of the Institution. A Committee was chosen accordingly.

In Subcouncil, February 1st, 1819.

The Committee above mentioned made a Report, which, being read, was accepted.

Attest, REJOICE NEWTON, *Rec. Sec'ry.*

ABSTRACT

OF AN

ADDRESS

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

THERE having been a large accession of Members of the AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, since its objects were communicated, the Government of this National Institution, residing in Massachusetts, have judged it to be their duty to address a summary account of its principles and progress to all who have been elected. This measure is adopted with a confidence, that those Mem-

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bers, if any, who may have become languid, will be reanimated in its service; and that those who are unapprized of its views and concerns, will discharge their duty with cheerful ardour, when they know what service they can perform.

Our Institution, in all its objects and concerns, is intended and considered as *National*, although it derives its charter and its national appellation from the Legislature of Massachusetts, by an act passed October 12, 1812. This local authority was resorted to from doubts having been expressed, whether Congress had the power to grant a charter without the District of Columbia. Its Members are selected from all parts of the Union. Its respectability is inferred from its numbers, and from its comprising men of the first standing and intelligence in the nation, and some of the first distinction in other countries. Most other societies, although of a benevolent and useful character, are necessarily limited in their views and duration. The objects of this Institution are commensurate with the lapse of time, and its benefits will be more and more accumulating in the progression of ages. As the antiquities of our country, by various means, are rapidly decreasing, an Institution whose business will be to collect and PRESERVE such as remain, and can be obtained, must be viewed as highly important.

The chief objects of the inquiries and researches of this Society, which cannot too soon arrest its attention, will be American Antiquities, natural, artificial and literary. As all things which in their nature are durable, if preserved from casualty and

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the ravages of time, in a course of years will be *antique*, it will also be an object of this Society to deposit, from time to time, such modern productions, as will, with accuracy, denote to those who succeed us, the progress of literature, the arts, manners, customs, and discoveries of the passing age.

Thus, by an attention to these objects, which the Society hope to promote by the exertion of its Members residing in various sections of this vast continent, the utility of the Institution will speedily be realized, and may in time vie with similar institutions in Europe.

Each individual of the Society, we persuade ourselves, will imbibe a belief, that much of its reputation and usefulness depends on his individual efforts. Members in our own country, particularly, are not considered as *honourary*, so far as to exempt them from *acting* in the promotion of the honour and prosperity of the Institution. All, we trust, will feel an interest in collecting and forwarding to the President, Vicepresidents, Counsellors, Secretaries, Librarian, or other Receiving Officers of the Institution, such antiquities of our country, whether of nature or of art, as may be portable, and which they can obtain; and authentick accounts of such as cannot be transported; with such articles of modern date as are curious and interesting, and will tend to aid the establishment.

It is requested that articles of Indian fabrication may be accompanied with some account of the place of their deposit, probable age, supposed use, and any other matter which may elucidate their history,

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Authentick accounts of Indian mounds, fortifications, and other monuments and remains, communicated by mail, or through the Receiving Officers, to either of the Secretaries, are particularly desirable. Information of this kind, published under the sanction of the Society, will prevent much publick imposition, and seems appropriate to the Institution. This request is particularly addressed to Members residing in the Western States, where it is supposed such remains are the most numerous and perfect. A Committee for publication are now preparing, and will commit a volume to the press, as soon as they can be furnished with sufficient original materials for the purpose.

Although the Society is in its infancy, we are happy to announce, that it is expanding into manly growth; and, with due patronage and exertion, will become preeminently useful. The Cabinet is not yet extensive; but the Members, we trust, will soon make it highly respectable and useful, by their occasional contributions. Funds are about to be procured, from the interest of which a Librarian and Cabinet Keeper may be supported, whose business shall be to attend to the property of the Society, and to keep it in a state of Preservation.

The catalogue of our Books is already respectable. Our Library, of about 5000 volumes, consists principally of books printed in the three last and present centuries. Some are of the *fifteenth* century. Many of these are peculiarly valuable, particularly American authors; as by them we learn the state of religion and literature at the period of their date. We have also files of the first

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Newspapers published in British North America, which, probably, are the earliest printed in this Western world; also, some of the first periodical works which appeared in Europe. Congress, and most of the State Legislatures, have passed acts and resolves for furnishing the Society with a copy of all their printed statutes, and such as hereafter shall be printed, together with their other printed documents. These, so far as they have been printed, have been deposited in the Library. This liberality, it may be presumed, will become general.

With a view to the safety of the Library and Cabinet, an inland situation has been preferred.—By the liberality of the President, a suitable building will speedily be erected in Worcester. A site sufficiently spacious and commodious has been obtained, and the materials for building are nearly prepared.*

It may be thought superfluous to observe, that a Society of this kind cannot be supported without some permanent funds. The munificence of the Founders has given a name and standing to our Institution; but further agency is necessary for its future nourishment and support. Bodies of this cast, however well formed and fashioned their structure, require some *inherent stamina*, or *self renovating power*, as the *spring* of perpetual life and action. Donations, legacies, contributions, and royal patronage, are the support of those in Europe, and have raised them to a state of eminence. And it is not doubted that there are persons in this country,

* The building, of permanent materials, handsome and every way suitable for the purpose is now [January, 1820] erected.

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by whose aid the AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY will be enabled to pursue those researches, so desirable, into the antiquities of this New World, and to rescue them from the ravages of time, for the use and improvement of the Historian, the Philosopher, and all scientifick men of our country, of the present age, and of posterity.

OLIVER FISKE, *per order.*

REPORT

Of the Committee, chosen by the Government of the AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, *to exhibit an Account of the* PROGRESS *and* PRESENT STATE *of the Institution, at the Annual Meeting in Boston, Oct.* 23, 1819.

Read and accepted, &c.

THE Committee appointed to investigate and report on the general progress and state of the Society, ask leave to report—

That they find the present situation of the Society much more promising than they could have anticipated. And when the scattered situation of its members, the small numbers who appear to have been actively engaged in promoting its objects, and that those objects are for the benefit of posterity, and little calculated to excite the feelings of those concerned in its present transactions, are taken into view, it is believed that no Society, labouring under similar embarrassments, has so rapidly risen into honourable standing, or received more flattering attentions from the most respectable portion of the

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community. There is, however, much remaining to be done, and which calls loudly for immediate exertion. The Antiquities of our country are fast disappearing, and the ravages of time are sweeping off many valuable relicks which may yet be saved by seasonable attention. Would the members, dispersed as they are through the whole United States, watch over the sections of country in which they reside, many curiosities which are already antique, and which develop the early history of our country, may be preserved from destruction, and secured in this National Depository. But without this individual exertion, much, very much of our early history must soon be irretrievably lost.

Since the last report on the state of the Society, many valuable additions have been made, both to the Library and Cabinet, the former of which now contains nearly six thousand volumes, and the latter is respectable. The Library contains many rare and valuable works; some of which, it is believed, cannot be found elsewhere in the country. It must soon become a profitable resort for the Antiquarian and Historian, from which they may derive much gratification and instruction. But although the Books have been preserved with care, yet the Library and Cabinet are at present in so disordered a state from the want of a suitable place of deposit, that their utility is in a great degree lost. This we hope will not long be its situation.

Within the last year our venerable and enterprizing President, in praise of whose munificence too much cannot be said, has erected, at great expense, a handsome, commodious and substantial building

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for the use and benefit of the Society. It will probably be ready for the reception of the Library and Cabinet at some time during the next summer. It is sufficiently large to answer all the purposes of the Society for many years, and is so built, that whenever more room shall be wanted, additions may be made without disfiguring, but would rather increase the elegance of the edifice. The President has also procured to be engraved, at his own expense, a beautiful and appropriate Diploma, and a Seal for the use of the Society. The diploma has frequently been called for by distant and other members. The manner in which it shall be distributed, will undoubtedly receive the immediate attention of the Society.

Presents have been made, in a very honourable manner, by the General Government, the several States of Massachusetts, Newhampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Missisippi and Louisiana, of their respective laws and the journals of the different branches of their Legislatures, from the first organization of their governments. Could we obtain similar donations from the other States of the Union, it would become a valuable collection of an important portion of the history of each State. It is to be hoped that the respectable members of this Society, residing within the several States which have not complied with our request to be furnished with their Laws, &c. will have influence enough with their respective Legislatures to persuade them to enable us to complete this collection.

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The Historian might then find in a single room, arranged for his convenient use, what he would otherwise be under the necessity of travelling from Maine to Louisiana to procure.

Within the last year, several communications have been made to the Society, which are thought worthy of publication. Among them are minute and accurate surveys of many of the ancient mounds and fortifications of the Western Country, by CALEB ATWATER, Esq. of Circleville, Ohio, done at the request and pecuniary assistance of the President. These are accompanied with drawings, and particular descriptions of those wonders of ancient days. Mr. ATWATER discovers an intimate acquaintance with the objects of his research, and great zeal in the pursuit. Could the Society find means to publish these papers, it is believed that much light might be thrown on a subject which has long remained in obscurity, or has only been brought to view in small and detached parts.

Whenever the building, which is now in a state of forwardness, shall be completed, it will be highly important that the Society should have a Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, who can devote a considerable portion of his time to the arrangement and care of the Library and Cabinet. To enable the Society to avail themselves of the assistance of such a person as would be competent to the task, a considerable compensation will undoubtedly be required. But the state of the treasury, at present, forbids every undertaking which shall subject the Society to expense.

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The plan heretofore adopted for raising funds, has altogether disappointed those who projected it. The largeness of the admission fee for life, and the difficulty attending the collection of an annual tax from persons dispersed over so great an extent of territory, will probably continue to keep our treasury empty. Would it not be advisable to diminish the admission fee, and abolish the annual tax? Your Committee believe, that every member would cheerfully pay such a fee as would soon place the treasury in a situation which would meet all the common expenses of the Society.* Its principal expenses thus far incurred, have been defrayed by our worthy President, who has cherished this darling child with paternal affection. Should his support be withheld, the Society would soon be in a bad condition, unless some other resource could be found.

The business of the Society has heretofore devolved on a small number, though most of its members have contributed something towards increasing our collections. There does not appear to be that interest generally taken in its prosperity, which is necessary to insure its constant growth, and that degree of usefulness, which its founders anticipated. Yet there are many members in the different sections of the United States, who manifest a zeal in its pursuits which the acknowledged importance of the Institution demands, and which a better op-

* Since this report was made, the Society have abolished the annual tax. Every member who has paid, or shall pay to the Treasurer the sum of six dollars, is excused from paying an annual tax, and is entitled to a diploma. [See the Laws, Article IX, as published in this volume.]

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portunity would render productive of much good. Indeed, it is believed that the time is not far distant, when the purposes for which the Society was instituted, will be thought of so much importance to the country as to claim the active cooperation of most of its members, and will ensure its success.

REJOICE NEWTON.
EDWARD D. BANGS.

LAWS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

At a Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, holden by adjournment at the Exchange Coffee House, in Boston, on the third Wednesday of January, 1815—

ON the report of the Committee for revising the Laws,

VOTED, That the fundamental Laws contained in ten articles, be and are hereby repealed; and the following substituted as the Laws of the American Antiquarian Society, viz.

ARTICLE I.

There shall be a President and two Vicepresidents. It shall be the duty of the President, and in his absence of one of the Vicepresidents, to preside in the meetings of the Society, and of the Council, and to regulate their debates; to call meetings of the Council and Subcouncils, and extraordinary

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meetings of the Society, by advice of the Council, or either of the Subcouncils. The President or presiding officer shall vote in Council, and in either of the Subcouncils, and also have a casting vote.—The Vicepresidents shall, ex officio, be members of the Council, and of each of the Subcouncils. If at any meeting of the Society, the President or Vicepresidents be absent, the oldest Counsellor present shall preside; if no Counsellor be present, the oldest member shall preside.

ARTICLE II.

Sec. 1. There shall be a Council, which shall be composed of the two Subcouncils, and of the Counsellors chosen for the several states, and for Plymouth and Maine; any four of whom shall constitute a quorum. The Council shall meet twice in every year, one of which meetings shall be on the day next preceding the annual meeting of the Society in October; and when this shall be on Monday, the meeting of the Council shall be on Saturday next preceding. The other meeting shall be holden on the Wednesday next preceding the last Thursday in June, in Worcester. The hour and place of assembling to be appointed by the Council. It shall be the duty of the Counsellors to direct the Corresponding Secretaries in the performance of their duty; to present to the Society such regulations and by laws as shall be thought expedient; to receive donations, and, with the President, to purchase, sell or lease, for the benefit of the Society, real or personal estate; to draw orders on the treasury for necessary monies; and in general to manage the prudentials of the Society.

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Sec. 2. There shall be five Counsellors residing in the vicinity of the Library and Cabinet, constituting a Subcouncil, for managing the immediate concerns of the Library and Cabinet, and also to consult on measures for the benefit of the Institution. This Subcouncil shall meet once in every month, at such time and place as they shall appoint. Three shall form a quorum. Once in every three months they shall examine the Library and Cabinet, and critically inspect the condition of the articles contained therein; and shall report their proceedings to the Council.

Sec. 3. There shall be five Counsellors whose residence shall be in Boston, or its vicinity, who shall form another Subcouncil, and meet once in every month, to consult and advise on the general concerns of the Institution; three of whom shall form a quorum. They shall report their proceedings to the Council.

Sec. 4. There shall be one Counsellor resident in each of the United States, and one in Plymouth Old Colony, and one in Maine, with a right to a seat, and with power to act, in the meetings of the Council. It shall be the duty of these as well as of the other Counsellors to receive communications from members of the Society and others, and forward them to the President. These Counsellors are also to receive such communications to its members as may be sent to their care by the officers of the Society, and dispose of them as may be requested. They are likewise to advise by letter to the President, or one of the Corresponding Secretaries, concerning any matters interesting to the Society; to use their

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efforts to gain information of the antiquities of the country, receive such articles as can be obtained, and forward them to the President, or one of the officers appointed to receive and forward articles presented to the Society.

Article III.

Sec. 1. There shall be one Recording Secretary, one or more Assistant Recording Secretaries, and three Corresponding Secretaries.

Sec. 2. The Recording Secretary shall be Keeper of the Seal, the Charter, and Records. It shall be his duty to attend all the meetings of the Society and Council, and to make records of all their proceedings; and he shall keep on file all letters and papers respecting the Society, under the direction of the Council.

Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretaries to receive and read all communications made to the Society; and to manage, under the direction of the Council, or either of the Subcouncils, all the correspondence of the Society. They shall, in books provided for the purpose, keep copies of all letters written for the Society; and shall file all letters and papers for the Society, to them directed, and deliver over the same, with the letter books, when filled, to the Librarian, under the direction of the Council.

Article IV.

There shall be a Treasurer, who shall give such security as the President and Council shall require, for the faithful performance of his trust. It shall be his duty to call on the members and others for all

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dues to the Society; to receive and keep all monies and evidences of property belonging to the Society; to pay out to the order of the President and Council; to keep a record of his receipts and payments, exhibit the same, and settle with a Committee which shall be annually appointed for this purpose: And he shall put the money out to interest, under the direction of the Council.

Article V.

There shall be a Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, who shall give bonds to the satisfaction of the President and Council for the faithful performance of his trust. He shall receive and have in his custody all books, papers, and productions of nature and art, the property of the Society. These he shall arrange in classes, and register in a book, with a proper description of each article, and the donor's name, when the same shall be a present; frequently examine the whole, and keep the same in good order. No book or article shall ever, on any occasion, be loaned or taken from the Library or Cabinet, except by vote of the Council; and then the loan of such article shall be recorded, and a receipt given therefor by the borrower, to return the same within four weeks, or pay a forfeiture, such as by a vote of the Council shall be prescribed. No person shall be permitted to enter or remain in the Library, except in the presence of the Librarian or a member of the Council.

Article VI.

There shall be appointed by the Society from its members, Officers, one or more in each of the Uni-

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ted States, whose duty it shall be to Receive and Preserve articles presented to the Society, till he can communicate to the President such information concerning them as he shall obtain, with the names of the persons presenting them, and to execute the orders of the President respecting them. These shall be called *Receiving Officers.*

ARTICLE VII.

There shall be annually two stated meetings of the Society, viz. one in Boston, on the twenty third day of October, the day on which Columbus first discovered America; and when the same shall fall on Sunday, then the meeting shall be holden on the Monday following—the other in Worcester, on the last Thursday in June. At the annual meeting in October shall be chosen, by ballot, all the officers of the Society, to serve during the year thence following, and until others are chosen. At this meeting a publick address shall be delivered by a member appointed by the Society, or the Council, unless when the Society shall otherwise determine.

ARTICLE VIII.

A Committee of three members shall be chosen annually, to be known by the name of the Committee of Nominations, to whom all nominations shall be submitted, and if approved shall be by them submitted to the Society, who shall proceed to ballot; and if the candidate obtains two thirds of the votes given in, he shall be constituted a member. Every new member shall be notified of his election by a printed letter, signed by the Recording Secretary.

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Article IX.

[Amended at a Meeting, holden January 27, 1820.]

Every member who shall produce a certificate to the Recording Secretary from the Treasurer, that he has paid six or more dollars to the funds of the Institution, shall be entitled to a diploma, to which the seal of the Society shall be affixed, signed by the President, and countersigned by the Recording Secretary, and shall be exempt from an annual tax. Every person residing in any part of the United States, who may in future be admitted into the Society, shall pay six dollars towards the funds for contingent expenses; and any individual, who is now a member, or shall in future be admitted, who shall neglect, for one year, the payment of six dollars, after having been called on, by the Treasurer in person, or by his written order, shall be considered as having abdicated his interest in the Society, and no longer a member.

Article X.

All meetings of the Society, standing or special, shall be notified by the Recording Secretary, under the direction of the President and Council or one of the Subcouncils, in one newspaper published in Boston, and one in Worcester, fourteen days previous to the day of the meeting; in which notification, the hour and place of the meeting shall be designated; but any neglect in this particular shall not prevent a stated meeting, or annul its proceedings.

Article XI.

In case of the death, resignation, incapacity, or removal out of the state of Massachusetts, of either

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of the Secretaries, or the Treasurer, or Librarian, the Council, or either of the Subcouncils, shall take charge of the official books, papers and effects, belonging to the vacated office, one or more of them giving a receipt for the same; which books, &c. they may deliver to some member whom they may appoint to fill the office until the next meeting of the Society, when there shall be a new choice.

Article XII.

No new law, or alteration of a standing law, shall hereafter be made, until it has been submitted to the Council, and by them proposed to the Society.

BY LAWS.

I. THE ballots for the election of officers, and for the admission of members, shall be collected by a committee chosen by nomination, who shall assort and count the votes, and make report to the presiding officer, and he shall declare the result to the Society.

II. The Secretary shall record, in a book for this purpose, the names of the members, and the times of their admission.

III. Every officer chosen at a meeting in which he was not present, shall be notified of his election by the Recording Secretary.

IV. The books in the Library shall be numbered, and marked with the words "*American Antiquarian Society.*"

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V. All books and other articles belonging to the Society shall be appraised, and the price of each article shall be mentioned in the catalogue.

VI. A correct copy of the catalogue of books and other articles, shall be made out by the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, or by a committee chosen by the Society for this purpose, which copy shall be kept by the President for the time being. And as additions are made to the Library and Cabinet, they shall be entered on the catalogue and on the copy thereof.

VII. Every deed to which the common seal of the Society is affixed, shall be passed and sealed in Council, signed by the President, and attested by the Recording Secretary.

VIII. There shall be a temporary place of deposit in Boston, and in such other places as the Council shall hereafter direct, for the convenience of those who may be disposed to present to the Society any articles for its Library or Cabinet. Every article so deposited, shall, as soon after as circumstances will permit, be forwarded to the Library and Cabinet in Worcester.

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ARCHÆOLOGIA AMERICANA.

DISCOVERY OF THE RIVER MISSISIPPI AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRY.

[The following Account was first published in France, near the close of the seventeenth century. It was soon after translated into English, and republished in London. The work being out of print, it is here introduced as a preliminary article to more recent discoveries in that interesting territory.]

A new Discovery of a large Country in the Northern America, extending above four thousand miles. By Father LEWIS HENNEPIN.

A VOYAGE TO NORTH AMERICA.

FINDING in myself a strong inclination to retire from the world, I entered into the Franciscan order, where I was overjoyed in reading the travels of the fathers of my own order, who were indeed the first that undertook missions into any foreign country. I thought nothing greater or more glorious than to instruct the ignorant and barbarous, and lead them to the light of the gospel. In order to

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which I went missionary for Canada, by command from my superiours; and embarked at Rochelle, in company of Mr. de Laval, since bishop of Quebec, the capital city of Canada. Our crew was about one hundred men, to three fourths of whom I administered the sacrament, they being catholicks. I likewise performed divine service every day when the weather was calm, and we sung the Itinerary of the clergy, translated into French verse, after evening prayers.

I shall omit the accidents that befel us, being such only as are inseparable companions of all great voyages. Soon after my arrival, I was sent in mission about one hundred and twenty leagues beyond Quebec, accompanied by father Luke Buisset. We went up the river St. Lawrence southwards, till we came to fort Frontenac, distant from Quebec one hundred leagues. It was built to prevent the excursions of the Iroquese, and to interrupt the trade of skins these savages maintain with the inhabitants of Newyork, who furnish them with commodities at cheaper rates than the French of Canada.

The Iroquese are an insolent and barbarous nation, and have shed the blood of more than two millions of people in that vast extended country. They would never cease from disturbing the repose of the Europeans, were it not for fear of their fire arms. For they entertain no commerce with them unless it be for arms, which they buy on purpose to use against their neighbours; and by means of which they have extended their bloody conquests five or six hundred leagues beyond their own precincts, exterminating whatever nation they hate.

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I had already acquired some small knowledge of the Iroquese language; and father Luke and I translated the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Litany, which we caused them to get by heart, and repeat to their children. They pronounce no labial letters, such as B, P, M, F. Here we remained two years and a half, till we saw our house of mission finished, and then returned in a canoe down the river St. Lawrence to Quebec.

Having tarried there till those who were expected from Europe to bear part in this discovery were arrived, I embarked in a small canoe, made of the bark of birch trees, carrying nothing with me but a portable chapel, one blanket, and a mat of rushes, which was to serve me for bed and quilt. I arrived at fort Frontenac the second of November, 1678, and on the eighteenth embarked in a brigantine of about ten tons and fifteen men, the Sieur de la Motte, commander. We sailed on till we came to the further end of the lake Ontario, and on the sixth of January entered the river Niagara; where we set our carpenters and the rest of the crew to work in building a fort and some houses; but foreseeing that this was like to give jealousy to the Iroquese, and to the English who dwell near them, and have a great commerce with them, we told those of the village of Niagara, that we did not intend to build a fort on the bank of their river, but only a great store house to keep the commodities we had brought to supply their occasions. And, to remove their suspicion, Mr. de la Motte thought it absolutely necessary to send an embassy to the Iroquese; telling me, "He was resolved to take along with him seven

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men out of sixteen that we were in all, and desired me to accompany him because I understood in a manner the language of their nation." We passed through forests thirty two leagues, and after five days journey came to a great village, and were immediately carried to the cabin of their principal.—The younger savages washed our feet, and rubbed them over with the grease of deer, wild goats, and oil of bears. They are for the most part tall and well shaped, covered with a sort of robe made of beavers' and wolves' skins, or black squirrels, holding a pipe or calumet in their hands. The senators of Venice do not appear with a graver countenance, and perhaps do not speak with more majesty and solidity than those ancient Iroqueses.

One of our men who well understood their language, told the assembly,

1. That we were come to pay them a visit, and smoke with them in their pipes. Then we delivered our presents, consisting of axes, knives, a great collar of white and blue porcelain, with some gowns. The same presents were renewed upon every point we proposed to them.

2. We desired them to give notice to the five cantons of their nation, that were about to build a ship or great canoe above the great fall of the river Niagara, to go and fetch European commodities by a more convenient passage than that of the river St. Lawrence, whose rapid currents make it dangerous and long. And that by these means we should afford them our commodities cheaper than the English of Boston, or the Dutch, at that time masters of Newyork. This pretence was specious enough,

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and very well contrived to engage the barbarous nation to extirpate the English and Dutch out of that part of America.

3. We told them that we should provide them at the river Niagara with a blacksmith and a gunsmith to mend their guns, axes, &c. they having nobody among them that understood that trade. We added many other reasons which we thought proper to persuade them to favour our design. The presents we made unto them in cloth or iron, were worth above four hundred livres, besides some other European commodities very scarce in that country; for the best reasons in the world are not listened to among them unless they are enforced with presents.

The next day their speaker answered our discourse article by article, seeming to be pleased with our proposals though they were not really so, having a greater inclination for the English and Dutch than for us. Whilst we were with them, their parties had made an excursion towards Virginia, and brought two prisoners. They spared the life of one, but put to death the other with most exquisite torments. They commonly use this inhumanity towards all their prisoners, and their torments sometimes last a month. When they have brought them into their canton, they lay them on pieces of wood like a St. Andrew's cross, to which they tie their legs and arms, and expose them to gnats and flies, who sting them to death. Children cut pieces of flesh out of their flanks, thighs, or other parts, and boiling them, force those poor souls to eat thereof. Their parents eat some them-

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selves, and the better to inspire into their children a hatred of their enemies, give them some of their blood to drink. This cruelty obliged us to leave them sooner than we would have done, to shew them the horror we had of their inhumanity, and never eat with them afterwards; but returned the same way we went through the woods to the river Niagara, where we arrived the fourteenth of January, much fatigued with our voyage, having no food on the way but Indian corn. Mr. de la Motte, no longer able to endure so laborious a life, gave over his design, and returned to Canada, having about two hundred leagues to travel.

On the twentieth, Mr. de la Salle arrived from fort Frontenac with a great bark to supply us with provisions, rigging and tackling for the ship we designed to build at the mouth of the lake Erie; but that bark was unfortunately cast away on the lake Ontario, within two leagues of Niagara. On the twenty-second, we went two leagues above the great fall of Niagara, where we made a dock for building the ship. Mr. de la Salle returned to fort Frontenac, leaving one Tonti, an Italian, for our commander. He undertook this journey afoot over the snow, having no other provision but a little sack of roasted Indian corn. However, he got home safely with two men and a dog, who dragged his baggage over the frozen snow.

Most of the Iroquese were now gone to wage war on the other side the lake Erie, and our men continued with great application to build our ship; for the Iroquese who were left behind, were not so insolent as before, though they came sometimes to

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our dock, and expressed some discontent at what we were doing.

We made all the haste we could to get our ship afloat, though not altogether finished, to prevent their designs of burning it. She was called the Griffin, about sixty tons, and carried five small guns. We fired three guns, and sung *Te Deum*; and carrying our hammocks aboard, the same day were out of the reach of the savages.

Before we could proceed in our intended discovery, I was obliged to return to fort Frontenac, to bring along with me two monks of my own order, to help me in the function of my ministry. I concealed part of the discouragements I had met with, because I designed to engage father Gabriel and Zenobe in our voyage. Having dispatched our affairs, we three went aboard a brigantine, and in a short time arrived at the river which runs into the lake Ontario, where we continued several days, our men being very busy in hartering their commodities with the natives, who exchanged their skins for knives, guns, powder and shot, but especially brandy, which they love above all things. Mr. de la Salle arrived in a canoe eight days after. These impediments retarded us so long that we could not reach the river Niagara before the thirtieth of July. Father Gabriel and I went over land to view the great Fall, the like whereof is not in the whole world. It is compounded of two great cross streams of water and two falls, with an isle sloping along the middle of it. The waters which fall from this vast height do foam and boil after the most hideous manner imaginable, making an outrageous noise more terri-

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ble than that of thunder; so that when the wind blows from the south, their dismal roaring may be heard above fifteen leagues off.

The river Niagara having thrown itself down this incredible precipice, continues its impetuous course for two leagues with an inexpressible rapidity; and the brinks are so prodigious high, that it makes one tremble to look steadily on the water, rolling along with a rapidity not to be imagined. It is so rapid above the descent, that it violently hurries down the wild beasts, endeavouring to pass it to feed on the other side, casting them down headlong above six hundred feet. A bark or greater vessel may pass from fort Frontenac until you come within two leagues of the Fall, for which two leagues the people are obliged to carry their goods over land; but the way is very good, and the trees are but few, and they chiefly furs and oaks. Were it not for this vast cataract which interrupts navigation, we might sail with barks or greater vessels above four hundred and fifty leagues further.

On the seventh of August we went on board, being in all thirtyfour men, and sailed from the mouth of the lake Erie, and on the eleventh entered a streight thirty leagues long and one broad, except in the middle, which makes the lake of St. Claire. On the twentythird, we got into the lake Huron. The twentysixth we had so violent a storm that we brought down our yards and topmasts, and let the ship drive at the mercy of the wind, knowing no place to run into to shelter ourselves. Mr. la Salle, notwithstanding he was a courageous man, began to fear, and told us we were undone; whereupon

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every body fell on his knees to say his prayers and prepare himself for death, except our pilot, whom we could never oblige to pray; and he did nothing all that while but curse and swear against Mr. la Salle, who had brought him thither to make him perish in a nasty lake, and lose the glory he had acquired by his long and happy navigations on the ocean. When the wind abated we hoisted our sail, and the next day arrived at *Missilimakinak*.

On the second of September we weighed anchor and sailed to an island at the mouth of the bay of Puans, forty leagues from *Missilimakinak*. The chief among them, who had been formerly in Canada, received us with all the civility imaginable. Mr. la Salle, without asking any other body's advice, resolved to send back the ship to Niagara, laden with furs and skins, to discharge his debts. Our pilot and five men with him were therefore sent back, and ordered to return with all imaginable speed to join us towards the southern parts of the lake, where we should stay for them among the Illinois. They sailed the eighteenth with a westerly wind, and fired a gun as taking leave. It was never known what course they steered, nor how they perished; but it is supposed that the ship struck upon a sand, and was there buried. This was a great loss for Mr. la Salle and other adventurers, for that ship with its cargo cost above sixty thousand livres.

We continued our voyage in four canoes, being fourteen men in all, and departed the nineteenth of September. We steered to the south towards the continent, distant from the island near forty leagues. On the first of October, after twelve leagues rowing,

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we were in so great danger by stress of weather, that we were forced to throw ourselves into the water, and carry our canoes on our shoulders to save them from being broken to pieces. I carried father Gabriel on my back, whose great age, being sixty-five years, did not permit him to venture into the water.

Having no acquaintance with the savages of the village near which we landed, we prepared to make a vigorous defence in case of an attack, and in order to it, possessed ourselves of a rising ground where we could not be surprized. We then sent three men to buy provisions in the village, with the calumet or pipe of peace, which those of the island had given us. And because the calumet of peace is the most sacred thing among the savages, I shall here describe the same.

It is a large tobacco pipe, of a red, black, or white marble. The head is finely polished. The quill, which is commonly two foot and a half long, is made of a pretty strong reed or cane, adorned with feathers of all colours, interlaced with locks of women's hair. Every nation adorns it as they think fit, and according to the birds they have in their country.

Such a pipe is a safe conduct amongst all the allies of the nation who has given it. And in all embassies the calumet is carried as a symbol of peace. The savages being generally persuaded that some great misfortune would befal them, if they should violate the publick faith of the calumet. They fill this pipe with the best tobacco they have, and then present it to those with whom they have concluded

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any great affair, and smoke out of the same after them.

Our three men, provided with this pipe, and very well armed, went to the little village three leagues from the place where we landed; but finding nobody therein, took some Indian corn, and left instead of it some goods, to let them see that we were no robbers nor their enemies. However twenty of them armed with axes, small guns, bows and clubs, advanced near the place where we stood; whereupon Mr. la Salle with four men very well armed, went toward them to speak with them, and desired them to come near us, for fear a party of our men who were gone a hunting, should meet with them and kill them. They sat down at the foot of the eminence where we were posted, and Mr. la Salle spoke to them all the while concerning his voyage, which he told them he had undertaken for their good and advantage. This was only to amuse them till our three men returned, who appearing with the calumet of peace, the savages made a great shout, and rose and began to dance. We excused our taking some of their corn, telling them we had left the true value of it in goods; which they took so well, that they sent immediately for more, and gave us next day as much as we could carry away in our canoes. They retired towards evening, and Mr. la Salle ordered some trees to be cut down, and laid across the way, to prevent any surprize from them. The oldest of them came to us next morning with their calumet of peace, and brought us some wild goats. We presented them with some axes, knives,

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and several little toys for their wives, with which they were well pleased.

We left that place the second of October, and coasted along the lake, which is so steep that we could hardly find any place to land. The violence of the wind obliged us to drag our canoes sometimes to the top of the rocks to prevent their being dashed in pieces. The stormy weather lasted four days, during which we suffered very much, and our provisions failed us again; which, with the fatigues of rowing, caused old father Gabriel to faint away in such manner, that I thought verily he could not live. We had no other subsistence but a handful of Indian corn once every twentyfour hours, which we roasted or else boiled in water; and yet rowed almost every day from morning till night. Being in this dismal distress, we saw upon the coast a great many ravens and eagles, from whence we conjectured there was some prey; and having landed upon that place, we found above the half of a fat wild goat which the wolves had strangled. This provision was very acceptable to us, and the rudest of our men could not but praise the divine Providence who took so particular a care of us.

Having thus refreshed ourselves, we continued our voyage directly to the southern parts of the lake. On the sixteenth, we met with abundance of game. A savage we had with us killed several stags and wild goats, and our men a great many turkies, very fat and big; wherewith we provided ourselves for several days, and so embarked again. On the first of November we came to the mouth of the river of the Miamis, which runs from the south and

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falls into the lake. Here we spent all that month in building a fort forty feet long, and eighty broad; made with great square pieces of timber laid one upon the other.

On the third of December we embarked, being thirtythree men, in eight canoes, and having rowed about twentyfive leagues up the river Miamis to the southwest, we could not find the place where we were to land, and carry our canoes and equipage into the river of the Illinois, which falls into Mississippi. Our savage who was hunting ashore, not finding us at the place of portage, came higher up the river, and told us we had missed it. So we returned and carried our canoes over land to the head of the Illinois river, which is but a league and a half from that of Miamis. We continued our course upon this river very near the whole month of December, towards the end of which we arrived at the village of the Illinois, about one hundred and thirty leagues from fort Miamis. We found nobody in the village, which caused a great perplexity among us; for though we wanted provisions, yet we durst not meddle with the corn they had laid under ground for their subsistence, and to sow their lands with; it being the most sensible wrong one can do them, in their opinion, to take some of their corn in their absence. However, our necessity being very great, and it being impossible to continue our voyage without it, Mr. la Salle took about forty bushels of it, hoping to appease them with some presents.

We embarked again with this fresh provision, and fell down the river the first of January, 1680.

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We took the elevation of the pole, which was thirty-three degrees, fortyfive minutes. Although we used all the precaution we could, we found ourselves on a sudden in the middle of their camp, which took up both sides of the river. The Illinois being much terrified, though they were several thousand men, tendered us the calumet of peace, and we offered them ours. Mr. la Saile presented them with Martinico tobacco, and some axes. He told them, "He knew how necessary their corn was to them; but that being reduced to an unspeakable necessity when he came to their village, and seeing no probability to subsist, he had been forced to take some corn from their habitations without their leave. That he would give them axes and other things, in lieu of it, if they could spare it; and if they could not, they were free to take it again." The savages considered our proposals, granted our demands, and made an alliance with us.

Some days after, Nikanape, brother to the most considerable man among them, who was then absent, invited us to a great feast. And before we sat down, told us, "That he had invited us not so much to give us a treat, as to endeavour to dissuade us from the resolution we had taken to go down to the sea by the great river Missisippi." He said, "That the banks of that river were inhabited by barbarous and bloody nations, and that several had perished upon the same enterprize." Our Interpreter told him by order of Mr. la Salle, "That we were much obliged to him for his advice; but that the difficulties and dangers he had mentioned, would make our enterprize still more glorious. That we

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feared the Master of the life of all men, who ruled the sea and all the world, and therefore would think it happiness to lay down our lives to make his name known to all his creatures." However Nikanape's discourse had put some of our men under such terrible apprehensions, that we could never recover their courage nor remove their fears; so that six of them who had the guard that night, (among which were two sawyers, the most necessary of our workmen for building our ship) ran away, taking with them what they thought necessary. But considering the country through which they were to travel, and the season of the year, we may say, that for avoiding an uncertainty, they exposed themselves to a most certain danger.

Mr. la Salle seeing those six men were gone, exhorted the rest to continue firm in their duty; assuring them, that if any were afraid of venturing themselves upon the river of Missisippi, because of the dangers Nikanape had mentioned, he would give them leave to return next spring to Canada, and allow them a canoe to make their voyage; whereas they could not venture to return home at this time of the year, without exposing themselves to perish with hunger, cold, or the hands of the savages.

On the fifteenth, we made choice of an eminence on the bank of the river, defended on that side by the river, and on two others by two deep ditches made by the rains, so that it was accessible only by one way. We cast a line to join those two natural ditches, and made the eminence steep on every side, supporting the earth with great pieces of timber. By the first of March, our fort was near finished,

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and we named it Crevecœur, because the desertion of our men, with the difficulties we laboured under, had almost broke our hearts. We had also built a bark for the continuance of our discovery. It was fortytwo feet long by the keel, and was in such a forwardness, that we should have been in a condition to sail in a very short time, had we been provided with all other necessaries. But hearing nothing of our ship Griffin, and therefore wanting the rigging and other tackle we expected by her, we found ourselves in great perplexity, and did not know what to do in this sad juncture, being above five hundred leagues from fort Frontenac; whither it was almost impossible to return at that time, because the snow made travelling very dangerous by land, and the ice made it impracticable to our canoes.

Mr. la Salle did now no longer doubt but his beloved Griffin was lost; but neither this nor the other difficulties dejected him. His great courage buoyed him up, and he resolved with three men to return to fort Frontenac by land, notwithstanding the snow and the unspeakable dangers attending so great a journey, and to bring along with him the necessary things to proceed on our discovery; while I with two men should go in a canoe to the river Missisippi, to get the friendship of the nations inhabiting the banks thereof. Then calling his men together, told them, "He would leave Mr. Tonti to command in the fort, and desired them to obey his orders in his absence, to live in a Christian union and charity, to be courageous and firm in their design." He assured them, "He would return with

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all the speed imaginable, and bring with him a fresh supply of meat, ammunition, and rigging for our bark; and that in the mean time he left them arms and other things necessary for a vigorous defence, in case their enemies should attack them before his return."

Then telling me, "That he expected I should depart without further delay," he embraced me and gave me a calumet of peace, with two men to manage our canoe, Picard and Ako, to whom he gave some commodities to the value of about one thousand livres, to trade with the savages or make presents. He gave to me in particular, and for my own use, ten knives, twelve shoemaker's awls or bodkins, a small roll of Martinico tobacco, two pounds of rassade, i. e. little pearls or rings of coloured glass to make bracelets for the savages, and a small parcel of needles; telling me, "He would have given me a greater quantity if it had been in his power."

Thus relying on the providence of God, and receiving the blessing of father Gabriel, I embraced all our men, and took my leave of Mr. la Salle, who set out a few days after for Canada with three men, without any provisions but what they killed in their journey, during which they suffered very much by cold weather, snow, and hunger.

We set out from fort Crevecœur, twentyninth of February, myself, Picard and Ako, and when we had gone fifty leagues down the river, we came to the place where it falls into the Missisippi, between thirtyfive and thirtysix degrees of latitude. The Missisippi runs to the south southwest, between

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two ridges of mountains, is in some places a league broad, and a half a league where it is narrowest. The ice which came down stopt us here till the twelfth of March. Then after prayers we embarked, and continuing our course down the river, we discovered three savages on the fifteenth, and landing, marched up to them; whereupon they ran away. But after some signs, one returned, and presented us the calumet of peace, which when we had received, the two others came back. We could not understand one word of their language; and when we named two or three different nations to them, one answered three times, Chiquacha. They gave us some pelicans they had killed with their arrows, and we presented them with part of our meat. Two days after, we saw many savages near the river, crying aloud, Sasacouest, that is, Who goes there? as I have been informed. They sent a pirogue or heavy wooden canoe towards us, wherein were the three savages we had met two days before. We presented our calumet of peace, which they received, but gave us to understand by signs that we must go to the Akansa, pointing to the savages ashore. We could not avoid it; and as soon as we were landed, the three Chiquachas took our canoe upon their shoulders, and carried it to the village. These savages received us very kindly, and presented us with beans, Indian corn, and flesh to eat. We made them also a present of some of our European commodities, which they admired, putting their fingers upon their mouths, especially when they saw our guns. The eighteenth we embarked again, after having been entertained with dancing and feasting,

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and carried away our commodities, though the savages were very loth to part with them; but having accepted our calumet of peace, they did not presume to stop us by force.

We passed by the nations of Taensa and Coroa, by both which we were kindly received, and on the twentyfourth came to the nation of Quiniquissa. The next day we came to a point where the Missisippi divides itself into three channels. We took the middle one, which is very broad and deep. The water began there to taste brackish, but four leagues lower was as salt as the sea. We rowed about four leagues further and discovered the sea. The mouth of the river is very deep, without being interrupted with any sands; so that great ships may go up as far as the Illinois river, which is two hundred leagues. Its course, from its source to the sea, may be eight hundred leagues, including windings and turnings. It falls into the gulph of Mexico, between twenty-seven and twentyeight degrees of latitude. Its mouth may be about thirty leagues from Rio Bravo, sixty from Palmas, and eighty or one hundred from Rio Panuco, the nearest habitation of the Spaniards.

My two men were very glad of this discovery; but on the other hand they expressed a great deal of dissatisfaction to have been at such trouble without making any profit, having found no furs to exchange for their commodities. They were also much afraid of the Spaniards of New Mexico, and were perpetually telling me, "That if they were taken, the Spaniards would never spare their lives, or at least give them the liberty to return into Europe." I knew their fears were not altogether un-

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reasonable; and therefore I resolved to go no further, though I had no reason to be afraid for myself, our order being so numerous in New Mexico, that on the contrary, I might expect to have had in that country a peaceable and easy life.

We lay, during the time we were ashore, under our canoe, supported with four forks, and made curtains of some rolls of birch bark, hanging from the top to the ground, to defend us from the rain. We saw nobody, and therefore cannot tell whether that coast be inhabited. We squared a tree of twelve feet high, and making a cross of it, erected it in that place, leaving there a letter signed by me and my two men, containing an account of our voyage, country, and profession. Then kneeling near the cross, we sung some hymns, and embarked again on the first of April, to return towards the source of the river.

It is observable that during the whole course of our sailing, God protected us against the crocodiles, which are very numerous in that river, especially towards the mouth. They looked dreadful, and would have attacked us, had we not been very careful to avoid them.

Our canoe being loaded with three men only and our provisions, did not draw three inches water, and therefore we could row very near the shore, and avoid the current of the river. The next day, April second, we saw, towards break of day, a great smoke not far from us, and soon after discovered four savage women loaded with wood, marching as fast as they could to get to their village before us. But some buzzards coming near us, one of my men

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could not forbear to shoot at them, which so frighted the women that they left their wood, and ran away to their village, where they arrived before us. The savages having heard the noise, were in as great fear as their wives, and left their village upon our approach. But I landing, immediately advanced alone with the calumet of peace, whereupon they returned, and received us with all the respect and civility imaginable. We made them some small presents to show our gratitude, and left that place April the fourth, and rowed with such diligence that we arrived the same day at Koroa. I was surprized to see their Indian corn, which was left very green, grown already to maturity; but I have learned since, that their corn is ripe sixty days after it is sown. They have three or four crops of Indian corn in a year, having no other winter than some rain. They have all sorts of trees we have in Europe, and many others unknown to us. There are the finest cedars in the world, and another tree from which drops a most fragrant gum, which in my opinion exceeds our best perfumes. The cotton trees are of a prodigious height; the savages make them hollow with fire, to make their pirogues of them. We saw some of them all of a piece above one hundred feet long. They told us, "That to the westward are some beasts who carry men upon their backs," and shewed us the hoof and part of the leg of one, which was certainly the hoof of a horse; and surely horses are not utterly unknown in the northern America; for near the cape named by us St. Anthony, we saw a horse and some other beasts painted upon the rock

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with red colours by the savages. But whereas we had been told that the Spaniards of New Mexico lived not above forty leagues from them, and supplied them with European commodities, we found nothing among them that might be suspected to come from thence, unless it be some little pieces of glass strung upon a thread, with which the women adorn their heads. We left the habitations of the Akansas, the fourth of April, and during sixty leagues saw no savage. Our provisions being spent, we had nothing to live upon but the game we killed, or the fish we could catch. On the twelfth, as my two men were boiling a buzzard, and myself refitting our canoe on the bank of the river, I perceived on a sudden, about two o'clock in the afternoon, no less than fifty canoes made of bark, manned with one hundred and twenty savages stark naked, coming down the river with an extraordinary swiftness, to surprize the Miamis and Illinois their enemies.

We threw away the broth which was preparing, and getting aboard as fast as we could, made towards them, crying out in the Iroquese and Algonquin languages, "Comrades, we are men of wooden canoes;" for so they call those that sail in great vessels. This had no effect, for they understood not what we said; so that surrounding us immediately, they began to let fly their arrows at us, till the eldest amongst them perceiving I had a calumet of peace in my hand, came up to us and prevented our being murdered by their warriours.

They presently jumped out of their canoes, some upon land, others into the water; surrounding us

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on all sides with shrieks and outcries that were indeed terrifying. It was to no purpose to resist, being but three to so great a number. One of them snatched the pipe of peace out of my hand. We presented them with some small pieces of Martinico tobacco, and made signs to them with our oars upon the sand, that the Miamis their enemies, whom they were in search of, had passed the river, and were gone to join the Illinois.

Being then out of all hopes of surprizing their enemies, three or four of the eldest of them laid their hands on my head, and began to weep bitterly, accompanying their tears with such mournful accents as can hardly be expressed; while I, with a sorry handkerchief I had left, made shift to dry up their tears; however, to very little purpose; for refusing to smoke in our calumet, they thereby gave us to understand, that their design was still to murder us; and one hundred of their leaders coming up to us, made us to understand by signs, that their warriours were resolved upon our death. This obliged me to apply myself to their chiefs, and presented them with six hatchets, fifteen knives and some pieces of tobacco; after which, bending my neck and pointing to a hatchet, I signified to them, by that submission, that we threw ourselves on their mercy.

The present had the good effect to soften some of them, who, according to their custom, gave us some beavers' flesh to eat, themselves putting the three first bits in our mouths, having first blown upon it, because it was hot; after this they set their platter before us, made of the bark of a tree, leaving us at

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liberty to feed after our own fashion. These civilities did not hinder us from passing the night away very uneasily, because in the evening, before they went to sleep, they had returned us our calumet of peace. The two canoemen resolved to sell their lives as dear as they could, and to defend themselves like men to the last, in case they should attack us. For my part I told them, I resolved to suffer myself to be slain without the least resistance, in imitation of our Saviour. However, we watched all night by turns, that we might not be surprized in our sleep.

The next morning early, one of their captains who had been for killing us, came and demanded my pipe of peace; it being delivered him, he filled it with tobacco, and made the rest who had been for putting us to death to smoke in it; then he made signs that we must go along with them into their country, to which they were then returning. This proposal was very welcome to us, and we rowed in their company for nineteen days together, sometimes north, and sometimes northeast, according to the best observations we could make by our compass; so that after these barbarians had forced us to follow them, we made more than two hundred and fifty leagues up the river Missisippi, and we were got about one hundred and fifty leagues up the same, above that of the Illinois, when we were first taken by them. One of the nineteen days of our most tiresome voyage, a captain called Aquipaguetin, who afterwards adopted me for his son, had killed a large fat deer, to which he invited the chief captains of the warriours. After the repast, the savages, with their hair anointed with oil of bears, and stuck all

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over with red and white feathers, and their heads covered with the down of birds, began to dance with their hands upon their hips, and striking their feet with great force against the ground. During the dance, one of the sons of the master of the ceremonies made them all smoke in the pipe of war, himself shedding abundance of tears. The father in the mean while laying his hands on our heads, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, bathed himself in tears. As for us, as far as we could judge, all this grimace boded us no good; and indeed, we afterwards understood, that he meant nothing less than our destruction by it. But finding the opposition he was like to meet from the other chiefs, who were of a contrary opinion, he was content to suffer us to reembark, resolving, however, to make use of some other stratagem to get into his own hands, by little and little, the rest of our things; not daring to take them from us openly by force, for fear of the rest of his own nation; by which it plainly appears, that he was a crafty designing knave. His son was killed by the Miamis, and finding he could not revenge himself on that nation, vented his passion upon us. Having thus travelled nineteen days in our canoe by water, we came within six leagues of the fall of St. Anthony, where they held an assembly to consult what they should do with us. At last they separated and gave us to three of their chiefs, instead of three of their sons which had been killed in the war; then they seized our canoe and took away all our equipage; our canoe they pulled to pieces; their own they hid among the alders, so that though we might have gone conveniently enough quite up

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into their country by water, yet we were obliged by their conduct to travel no less than sixty leagues afoot.

Our ordinary marches were from break of day till ten at night; and when we met with any rivers, we swam them, themselves (who for the most part are of an extraordinary size) carrying our clothes and equipage on their heads. We never eat but once in twentyfour hours, and then nothing but a few scraps of meat dried in smoke, after their fashion, which they afforded us with abundance of regret.

I was so weak that I often lay down, resolving rather to die than follow these savages any farther, who travelled at a rate so extraordinary, as far surpasses the strength of any European. However, to hasten us, they sometimes set fire to the dry grass in the meadows through which we passed, so that our choice was, march or burn. When we had thus travelled sixty leagues afoot, and undergone all the fatigues of hunger, thirst, and cold, besides a thousand outrages daily done to our persons; as soon as we approached their habitations, which are situated in morasses inaccessible to their enemies, they thought it a proper time to divide the merchandize they had taken from us. Here they were like to fall out and cut one another's throats about the roll of Martinico tobacco, which might still weigh about fifty pounds. Then arose a high dispute about the distribution they were to make of our persons. At last, Aquipaguetin, as head of the party, carried it; who turning towards me, presented me his calumet of peace to smoke in, receiving from me at the same time that which we had brought, and then adopted

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me for his son, in the room of him he had lost in the war.

Two other captains did the same by the two canoemen. This separation was very grievous to us, though somewhat allayed by the satisfaction we had to find our lives were safe. Picard, being sensible of the uncertain condition his life was in among so barbarous a people, took me aside to confess him. I should have been overjoyed to have seen Ako so well disposed. Being thus parted, the savages led us away, each to his own village.

I came to Aquipaguetin's habitation in the month of May, 1680. The next day he shewed me to six or seven of his wives, telling them that they were to esteem me as one of their sons, and ordered those about him to give me the title that was due to the rank which I was to hold amongst my new kindred.

I spent three months very ill in this place among the Issati and Nadovessians. My new father gave me nothing to eat but a few wild oats five or six times a week, and the roes of dried fish: He sent me into a neighbouring isle with his wives, children and servants, where I digged with a pickaxe and shovel I had recovered from those that robbed us. Here we planted tobacco, and some European pulse which I brought from thence, and were highly prized by Aquipaguetin.

During my stay among them, there arrived four savages in embassy, who said they were come above five hundred leagues from the west, and had been four moons upon the way. They assured us there was no such place as the streight of Anian, and that they had marched without resting, except to sleep,

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or kill game for their subsistence, and had not seen or passed over any great lake; by which phrase they always mean the sea.

They farther informed us, that the nation of the Assenipoulaes, who lie northeast from the Issati, was not above six or seven days' journey from us; that none of the nations within their knowledge, who lie to the west or northwest of them, had any great lake about their countries, which were very large, but only rivers, which, coming from the north, run across the countries of their neighbouring nations which border on their confines on the side of the great lake, which in their language is the same as sea. They farther assured us, that there were very few forests in the countries through which they passed in their way hither, insomuch that now and then they were so put to it for fuel, that they were forced to make fires of bulls' dung to boil their victuals. All these circumstances make it appear, that there is no such place as the streights of Anian, as we usually see them set down in maps. And whatever efforts have been made for many years past by the English and Dutch, the two nations of the world who are the greatest navigators, to find out a passage to China and Japan through the frozen sea, they have not yet been able to effect it. But, by the help of my discovery, and the assistance of God, I doubt not but a passage may still be found, and that an easy one too. For example; one may be transported into the Pacifick sea by rivers which are large and capable of carrying great vessels, and from thence it is easy to go to China and Japan without crossing the equinoctial line; and in all

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probability Japan is on the same continent as America.

Toward the end of July, the Sieur de Luth, accompanied with five men, arrived in our camp from Canada; and because I had some knowledge of the language of the Issati, he desired that I, with Picard and Ako, might accompany him to the villages of those people. I was very willing to undertake it, especially when I understood that they had not received the sacraments in the whole two years and a half that they had been out upon their voyage. We arrived at the villages of the Issati the 14th of August, and having exchanged our commodities we returned to the camp. Towards the end of September, we let them understand, that to procure them iron and other merchandizes which was useful for them, it was convenient that we should return to Canada; and that at a certain time when we should agree upon between us, they should come half the way with their furs, and we the other half with our European commodities. Upon this, they held a great Council, and consented to our return. Ouasicoude their chief captain gave us some bushels of wild oats for our subsistence by the way, having first regaled us in the best manner he could. These oats are better and more wholesome than rice. Then, with a pencil, he marked down on a sheet of paper which I had left, the course we were to keep for four hundred leagues together.

We put ourselves into two canoes, being eight Europeans of us in all. We fell down the river of St. Francis into the Missisippi, and thence went up

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the river Ouisconsin, navigable for large vessels above one hundred leagues; then we carried our canoes over land half a league. Thus having made more than four hundred leagues by water since our departure from the country of the Issati, we arrived at last at the great bay of the Puans, where we found many Canadians, who were come hither to trade; they having some wine with them, I administered the sacrament and preached. After two days stay, we departed; and after one hundred leagues rowing, having coasted along the great bay of Puans, we arrived at *Missilimakinak*, where we were forced to winter.

We parted from *Missilimakinak* in Easter week 1681, and having rowed one hundred leagues along the side of the lake Huron, we passed the streights, which are thirty leagues through, and the lake of St. Clair, which is in the middle; thence over the lake Erie to the fall of Niagara, from whence we carried our canoe two leagues below, and came to the lake of Ontario or Frontenac. When we came to the fort, we were kindly received by father Luke Buisset and Mr. la Fleur, who had the command of the fort in the absence of Mr. la Salle. But our men being eager to return to Canada, we took leave and went for Quebec. In two days we came to Montreal, sixty leagues. Count Frontenac looking out at a window saw me in the canoe, and took me for father Luke Fillatre, who served him as chaplain; but one of his guards knowing me again, went to him and acquainted him with my coming. He was so kind as to come and meet me, and gave me the best reception that a missionary might expect

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from a person of that rank and quality. He wondered to see me so much altered, being lean, tired, and tanned. He carried me to his own house, where I continued twelve days to refresh myself. He forbade all his servants to give me any thing to eat, lest I should fall sick if left to my own discretion after so long hardships; and gave me himself what he thought best.

When I desired his permission to go to Quebec, he appointed two of his guards, who understood very well to manage a canoe, to carry me thither, where the provincial commissary of the Recollects ordered me to return to Europe.

An Account of Mr. LA SALLE'*s undertaking to discover the River* MISSISIPPI, *by way of the Gulph of Mexico. By Father* LEWIS HENNEPIN.

MR. Robert Cavalier de la Salle was a person qualified for the greatest undertakings, and may be justly ranked amongst the most famous travellers that ever were. This will appear to whomsoever will consider that he spent his own estate about the greatest, most important, and most perilous discovery that has been yet made. His design was to find out a passage from the northern to the south sea without crossing the line, which a great many have hitherto sought in vain. The river Missisippi does not indeed run that way; but he was in hopes by means of that river to discover some other river

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running into the south sea. In order whereunto, he endeavoured to find out by sea the mouth of Missisippi, which discharges itself into the gulph of Mexico, to settle there a colony, and build a good fort to be as his magazine, and serve as a retreat both by sea and land, in case of any mishap.

He made his proposals to the French king's council, who, approving the design, his most Christian Majesty gave him all necessary authority, and supplied him with ships, men, and money. The ships were the Toby, one of the king's men of war of fiftysix guns, a great flyboat, a small frigate, and a ketch. This fleet was commanded by Mr. Beaujeau, who was victualled for a year; and Mr. la Salle had under his command one hundred and fifty land men who were to settle in the country; he had also with him twelve gentlemen who appeared to him vigorous, and like to bear the fatigues of the voyage, among whom were two of his nephews, viz. Mr. Moranger and Mr. Cavalier, the last but fourteen years old.

They sailed from Rochelle, August the fifth, 1684, and, passing by Martinico and Guadaloupe, took in fresh provisions and water, with divers volunteers. The ketch being separated by storm was taken by the Spaniards; the other three ships arrived about the middle of February, in the bay of Spiritosanto, and about ten leagues off found a large bay, which Mr. la Salle took for the right arm of the Missisippi, and called it St. Lewis. He sounded the bay, which he found deep, but narrow, and therefore had expressly forbid the captain of the flyboat to attempt to come into it, without having on

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board the pilot of the frigate, who was an experienced man; and for a greater security, had commanded him to unlade his guns into the pinnace to make the ship the lighter; yet that brute neglecting those orders, and without taking notice of the poles they had placed on the sands to shew him the channel, sailed his ship at random, and ran her against a sand, where she remained. Mr. la Salle was ashore, and fearing the fate of his ship, was going on board to save her, but was prevented by about one hundred and twenty savages who came to attack him. He put his men in a posture of defence, but the noise alone of the drums put the savages to flight. Mr. la Salle following them, presented the calumet of peace, which they accepted, and came along with him to his camp, where he entertained them, and sent them back with some presents. They were so pleased that they brought some provisions the next day, and made an alliance with him, which would have proved very advantageous to Mr. la Salle, had not an unlucky accident broke that good intelligence.

As they were unlading the flyboat which had struck upon the sand, to endeavour to get her off, a pack of blankets fell into the sea, which the waves drove upon the shore. The savages found it; and Mr. la Salle having notice of it, sent to demand it of them in a very civil manner; they shewed some reluctance, whereupon the officer instead of acting the prudent part, threatened to kill them unless they restored it immediately. This so frighted and incensed them, that they resolved to be avenged of that affront; and in order thereto, got together in the

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night time of the seventh of March, 1685, and marched to surprize the French camp. They advanced as near as they would, the centinel being asleep, and made a discharge of their arrows, which killed four gentlemen officers and volunteers, and wounded Mr. Moranger and another volunteer. The French ran to their arms and fired upon the savages, who ran away, though none were wounded; and the next day killed two of Mr. la Salle's men whom they found sleeping.

In the mean time, the flyboat was unladed, which was too far sunk to be got off, and most of the goods saved; and as they were endeavouring to save the rest, she was dashed in pieces by the violence of the waves, and several men were in danger of being drowned, but by the grace of God all escaped.

Mr. Beaujeau seeing all the goods and merchandize landed, and a fort almost finished, sailed the twelfth of March for France; and Mr. la Salle having fortified his magazine or fort, left one hundred men under command of Mr. Moranger, his nephew, for defence of it; and with the rest, being fifty, and three missionaries, viz. Mr. Cavalier, brother to Mr. la Salle, Zenobe, and Maxime, advanced into the country, in hopes of finding the Missisippi.

They built a fort in a very advantageous post, defended by twelve pieces of cannon, and then razed the first fort. The men grew so sickly that a great many died within a few days, notwithstanding they were carefully looked after and supplied with proper remedies. On the ninth of August, three of our men being gone a shooting, the noise of their guns was heard by the savages, who immediately

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got together in great numbers and surrounded the three Europeans, who killed with the first shot the general of the savages. This sad accident terrified them so much that they ran away, notwithstanding the disproportion in number; but they continued lurking about the fort, and killed a Frenchman who had advanced too far into the woods.

Mr. la Salle seeing no way to bring them to an alliance, resolved to make war upon them to oblige them to come to peace, and supply him with their pirogues or wooden canoes, which he wanted.—Therefore he set out from his fort the thirteenth of October with sixty stout men, having provided them with a kind of breastpiece of wood to cover them against the arrows of the savages. He was not far advanced when he found them encamped, and had several skirmishes, killing and wounding a great many, and returned with many prisoners. He had ordered the captain of the frigate to suffer none of his men to lie ashore; however, the captain, with six of his best men, charmed with the sweetness of the country, went ashore, and leaving their canoe upon the Owze with their arms, went into a meadow where they fell asleep, and were all killed by the savages, who broke their arms and canoe. This sad accident put the colony into a consternation. Mr. la Salle, having buried his men, resolved to travel along the coast to find out the mouth of the Missisippi; and, leaving the inhabitants and soldiers who were to remain in the fort, set out with twenty men and Mr. Cavalier his brother. The continual rains made the ways very bad, and swelled several small rivulets, which gave him a world of trouble. At

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last, on the thirteenth of February, 1686, he thought to have found his so much wished for river; and having fortified a post on its bank, and left part of his men for its security, he returned to his fort the thirtyfirst of March, charmed with his discovery. But this joy was overbalanced by grief for the loss of his frigate. This was the only ship left unto him, with which he intended to sail in a few days for St. Domingo, to bring a new supply of men and goods to carry on his design; but it ran unfortunately aground, by the negligence of the pilot, and was dashed in pieces. All the men were drowned, except the Sieur Chefdeville, the captain, and four seamen; the goods, linen, and cloth of the colony, with the provisions and tools, were all lost.

Mr. la Salle seeing all his affairs ruined by the loss of his ship, and having no way to return into Europe but by Canada, resolved upon so dangerous a journey, and took twenty men along with him, with one savage called Nicana, who had followed him into France, and had given such proofs of his affection to his master, that he relied more upon him than upon any European. Mr. Cavalier, Moranger, and father Anastas desired likewise to accompany him. They took with them powder and shot, two axes, two dozen knives, several pounds of glass beads, and two kettles to boil their meat; contenting himself with these provisions, in hopes to find out easily the Illinois, and return in a short time. Having assisted at the divine service in the chapel of the fort, to implore God's mercy and protection, he set out the twentysecond of April, 1686, directing his march to the northeast. It is likely they wasted

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pirogues and canoes, or else Mr. la Salle was not sure that he had found out the mouth of Missisippi, otherwise it had been much easier to have found out the Illinois country by water, he knowing that the river of the Illinois runs into the Missisippi.

After three days march, they discovered the finest campaign country in the world, and were met by many men on horseback, with boots, spurs, and saddles, which shews they had commerce with the Spaniards; then marching two days over vast meadows, they saw such numbers of wild oxen, that the least droves consisted of about four hundred; they killed ten of them, and rested two or three days to broil the meat for the rest of their voyage.

Mr. la Salle here altered his course, marching directly to the eastward. As he told nobody the reason of it, it was impossible to know what was his motive; he was secret to a fault, and likely would have prospered better, had he been somewhat more communicative. In their march, Nicana the savage cried out of a sudden that he was a dead man, having been stung by a rattlesnake. This obliged them to tarry some days in that place. They gave him immediately some orvietan; and having scarified the wound, applied to it some salt of vipers, whereby he was recovered.

After several days' march through a most delicious country, they came to a village of the Cenis, one of the most populous and largest in America, being about twenty leagues long, not in a continued street, but because the hamlets are so near one another that the whole looks as if it were but one. They

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found among them several things which they must have had from the Spaniards, as pieces of eight, silver spoons, lace, clothes and horses. They had also a bull of the pope, exempting the Spaniards of New Mexico from fasting in summer. Horses are so common, that one was exchanged for an axe, and a fine one was offered for father Anastas's capuch. They presented Mr. la Salle with their calumet of peace in great ceremony. By them he understood their country to be but six days' journey from the Spaniards. Having tarried several days among the Cenis, he continued his march through the country of the Nassonis, where four of his men ran away to that people, which sadly vexed him; and a few days after, he, together with Mr. Moranger, his nephew, fell sick of a violent fever, which obliged our travellers to tarry in that place for several weeks; for notwithstanding they recovered, it was a long time before they were able to continue their voyage. This distemper disappointed all their measures, and was the occasion of several misfortunes that befel them afterwards. They tarried two whole months, being reduced to the greatest extremities. Their powder was almost spent, though they were not advanced above one hundred and fifty leagues in a direct line. Some of his men had deserted; others began to be irresolute; and all these things being carefully considered, Mr. la Salle resolved to return to fort Lewis. Every body approving it, they returned the same way, without meeting any remarkable accident, except that one of them was swallowed by a crocodile of a prodigious size in repassing a river. They came to their camp the seventeenth of Octo-

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ber, 1686, where they were received with an incredible joy by their companions, who gave them over for lost among those barbarous nations. He remained two months and a half at fort Lewis, during which time he forgot not to comfort his small colony, which began to multiply, several children being born since their arrival.

Having cast up an intrenchment about a large enclosure, wherein were the habitations of the colony, under the cannon of the fort, and taken all other precautions for their security, he called the inhabitants together, and made so pathetick a speech to them about the necessity he was under to make a voyage to the Illinois country, that he drew tears from every one of the assembly, for he was very much beloved. Then taking twenty men with him, with his brother, his two nephews, father Anastasius, and the Sieur Joutel, after publick prayer, he set out a second time from fort Lewis, and resolved not to return till he had found the Illinois.

Mr. la Salle set out from the fort the seventh of January, 1687; and having crossed the river Salbonniere and Hiens, with divers others which were mightily swoln by the rains, they came into a fine country for hunting, where his people refreshed themselves after their tiresome travel with excellent good cheer for several days together. He had sent out Mr. Moranger his nephew, his lackey Saget, and seven or eight of his men to a certain place where Nika, his huntsman aforementioned, had laid up a stock of wild bulls' flesh, that they might get it smoked and dried to carry along with them, and so not be obliged to halt so frequently to hunt for provisions.

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With all his prudence, he could not discover the conspiracy of some of his people to kill his nephew; for they resolved upon it, and put it in execution all of a sudden on the seventeenth of March, wounding him in the head with a hatchet. They slew likewise the lackey and poor Nika, who had provided for them by his hunting, with great toil and danger. Moranger languished under his wound for two hours, forgiving his murderers, and embracing them frequently. But these wretches, not content with this bloody fact, resolved not to stick here, but contrived how to kill their master too, for they feared he would justly punish them for their crime. Mr. la Salle was two leagues from the place where Moranger was killed, and being concerned at his nephews' tarrying so long (for they had been gone two or three days) was afraid they were surprized by the savages; whereupon he desired father Anastasius to accompany him in looking after his nephew, and took two savages along with him. Upon the way, he entertained the father with a pious discourse of divine providence, which had preserved him in the many dangers he had undergone during twenty years abode in America; when all of a sudden father Anastasius observed that he fell into a deep sorrow, of which he himself could give no account. He grew mighty unquiet and full of trouble, a temper he was never seen in before.

When they were got about two leagues, he found his lackey's bloody cravat, and perceived two eagles (a common bird in those parts) hovering over his head; and at the same time, spied his people by the water side. He went to them and inquired for his

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nephew; they made him little answer, but pointed to the place where he lay. Father Anastasius and he kept going on by the river side, till at last they came to the fatal place, where two of the villains lay hid in the grass; one on one side, and one on the other, with their pieces cocked. The first presented at him, but missed fire; the other fired at the same time, and shot him in the head, of which he died an hour after, March 19th, 1687.

Father Anastasius seeing him fall a little way from him with his face all bloody, ran to him, took him up in his arms and wept over him, exhorting him as well as he could in this conjuncture to die a good Christian. The unfortunate gentleman had just time enough to confess part of his life to him, who gave him absolution, and soon after died. In his last moments he performed, as far as he was capable, whatsoever was proper for one in his condition, pressing the father's hand at every thing he said to him, especially when he admonished him to forgive his enemies. In the mean while, the murderers, struck with horror at what they had committed, began to beat their breasts and detest their rashness. Anastasius would not stir from the place, till he buried the body as decently as he could, and placed a cross over his grave.

Thus fell the Sieur de la Salle, a man of considerable merit; constant in adversities, intrepid, generous, courteous, ingenious, learned, and capable of every thing. He had formerly been of the society of Jesus for ten or eleven years, and quitted the order with consent of his superiors. He once shewed me a letter, written at Rome, by the general of the

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order, testifying that the Sieur la Salle had behaved himself prudently in every thing, without giving the least occasion to be suspected guilty of a venial sin. He had the ill hap to be massacred by his own servants, in the vigour of his age. The pious design he was upon, in relation to the conversion of those ignorant nations, seems to have deserved a better fate. But as God's ways are not our ways, we must submit to divine providence, without troubling ourselves about a vain inquiry into the secrets of God Almighty.

Father Anastasius hastened to find out Mr. Cavalier, brother of the defunct Mr. la Salle, who was a pious and discreet ecclesiastick, perfectly qualified for a missionary, to whom he related his death. The murderers came rudely into the same cabin or hut presently after, seizing upon all they found in it. Mr. Cavalier, and the Sieur Cavalier, his nephew, expecting the villains came to butcher them, fell down on their knees, and prepared themselves to die like Christians; but the assassins, moved with compassion, at the sight of the venerable old man, and being sorry besides for their late wicked deeds, resolved to spare them upon condition they should never return into France; but they were a long time before they fixed upon granting them mercy. Some of them that had a mind to see their kindred once again, endeavoured to clear themselves from so detestable an action; others said it was safest to rid their hands of these two innocent men, or else they might one day call them to an account, if ever they met again in France. They chose the murderer of Mr. de la Salle for their leader; and upon delibera-

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tion resolved to go to the famous nation of the Cenis. These infamous murderers in their march made the two Cavaliers serve them as valets, giving them nothing but their leavings to eat. Upon the way, a contest arose, between the murderer of Mr. la Salle and one Hans, a German, about superiority; whereupon their men divided, one party following Hans, the other the murderer. Hans taking his opportunity, fired a pistol at the murderer, the bullet pierced his heart, and he dropped down dead upon the place. One of Hans' crew shot him that killed Mr. Moranger, in the side; and another let fly just at his head; there was no ball in his musket, but the powder setting fire to his hair, catched his shirt and clothes with so much violence that he could not put it out, but expired in the flame.

Thus Hans became leader of this miserable troop; and the Cenis being then ready to march against their enemies, took Hans and some other Europeans along with them; the rest waited till they should return, though Hans would have persuaded them all to go, but they would not stir. As soon as Hans and his party were gone, the two Cavaliers, the Sieur Joutel, father Anastasius, and others departed out of the country. The Cenis gave them two savages for guides. Each had his horse, powder, and lead, with some goods to defray their charges on the way. They marched northeastward through the finest country in the world. On the fifth of September, they arrived at the mouth of the river Illinois, distant one hundred leagues from fort Crevecœur, and navigable all the way for large vessels. A savage seeing them enter his village, ran

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by land to carry the news to Mr. Belle Fontain, commander of the fort, who would not believe him. They following apace after him, came to the fort September fourteenth, and were presently conducted to the chapel, where *Te Deum* was thankfully sung. They tarried here till the spring of 1688; and, arriving at Quebec the twentyseventh of July, they sailed for France the twentieth of August following.

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DESCRIPTION

OF THE

Antiquities

DISCOVERED IN THE

STATE OF OHIO

AND OTHER

WESTERN STATES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

BY CALEB ATWATER,

COUNSELLOR OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY FOR THE STATE OF OHIO.

Illustrated by Engravings of Ancient Fortifications, Mounds, &c. From actual Survey.

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LETTER

TO THE

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

SIR,

PERMIT me to lay before you my Memoir on the Antiquities found in the State of Ohio and the Western Country. Would that it were more worthy of the favourable notice of one, whose liberality has enabled me to complete what I had begun several years since; that my ability were equal to my zeal to serve you; that you might, in reading this essay, find a satisfaction equal to mine, whilst employed in surveying the ruins which are described in the following pages.

While traversing the country where these ancient works are found; tracing the outlines of the works; making diagram sketches of them, seated upon the summit of a lofty tumulus, which overlooked all the works belonging to some once celebrated spot, gilded by the rays of the setting sun—how anxiously have I wished for the company of some one like the person to whom these observations are addressed, so that he might participate with me in the emotions which filled my breast!

It has been my most anxious endeavour to collect and convey FACTS, which may be of some use to the Philosophers, the Historians, the Antiquarians and Divines of future times. How far I have succeeded in my humble attempt, is left to the candour, liberality and intelligence of the American Antiquarian Society.

Sir, I am your obliged Friend,
And very humble Servant,

CALEB ATWATER.

Circleville, Ohio, January, 1820.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

I TAKE great pleasure in acknowledging my obligations to the several Gentlemen mentioned below, for the assistance which they have rendered me, in surveying the ancient works in their immediate vicinities, &c. &c. &c.

SAMUEL WILLIAMS, Esq. Chillicothe, who surveyed the ancient works on Paint Creek, and communicated many interesting facts to me concerning our Antiquities generally.

SAMUEL P. HILDRETH, M. D. Marietta, who communicated a great number of facts concerning the Antiquities of that place, and otherwise aided me in my researches; and by these means has laid me under peculiar obligations of gratitude to him for his laudable exertions.

JOHN JOHNSTON, Esq. U. S. Indian Agent, at Piqua, furnished me, in the most obliging manner, with all the information I wished for concerning our Indians. His communications are drawn up very happily, and contain much new matter, in a condensed form.

ROSWELL MILLS, Esq. County Surveyor of Perry County, surveyed the Stone Fort in that County, and otherwise assisted me in collecting many interesting facts.

In surveying and laying down the ancient works at Portsmouth, I was assisted by Mr. JAMES ABBOT, Messrs. TRACY and PEEBLES, of that place, and WILLIAM L. MURPHY, Esq. of Chillicothe.

A. H. COFFER, LUCIUS SMITH, and JAMES HOLMES, Esquires, surveyed the works near Newark, and shewed me every kindness, whilst I was employed in examining those interesting ruins. To them I am greatly indebted.

NEAL M'GAFFEY, Esq. Attorney at Law, of Circleville, assisted me much, as an amanuensis.

G. W. DOAN, Esq. assisted me in surveying the works at Circleville.

The services of the abovenamed Gentlemen were performed with a view to promote the good of our beloved country, and they are entitled to her gratitude.

Other Gentlemen have communicated much matter; but not being accompanied by any diagram sketches, taken from actual survey, I have thought proper not to insert it.

CALEB ATWATER.

Circleville, Ohio, January, 1820.

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DESCRIPTION, &c.

OUR Antiquities have been noticed by a great number of travellers, few of whom ever saw one of them, or, who riding at full speed, had neither the industry, the opportunity, nor the ability to investigate a subject so intricate. They have frequently given to the world such crude and indigested statements, after having visited a few ancient works, or, heard the idle tales of persons incompetent to describe them, that intelligent persons residing on the very spot, would never suspect what works were intended to be described.

It has somehow happened, that one traveller has seen an ancient work, which was once a place of amusement for those who erected it, and he concludes, that none but such were ever found in the whole country. Another in his journey sees a mound of earth with a semicircular pavement on the East side of it; at once he proclaims it to the world as his firm belief, that ALL our ancient works were places of devotion, dedicated to the

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worship of the Sun. A succeeding tourist falls in with an ancient military fortress, and thence concludes that ALL our ancient works were raised for military purposes. One person finds something about these works of English origin, and, without hesitation, admits the supposition that they were erected by a colony of Welchmen. Others again, find articles in and near these ancient works, evidently belonging to the Indians, to people of European origin, and to that Scythian race of men who erected all our mounds of earth and stones. They find, too, articles scattered about and blended together, which belonged not only to different nations, but to different eras of time, remote from each other—they are lost in a labyrinth of doubt.—Should the inhabitants of the Western States, together with every written memorial of their existence, be swept from the face of the earth, though the difficulties of future Antiquarians would be increased, yet they would be of the same KIND with those, which now beset and overwhelm the superficial obverver.*

* His Excellency De Witt Clinton, Esq. Governour of Newyork, H. M. Brackenridge, Esq. of Baltimore, Dr. Drake, of Cincinnati, and some few others, are honourable exceptions to that class of writers above described; men of exalted talents both natural and acquired, who have attempted to describe only such works as they have carefully examined. The former gentleman has recently published "A memoir on the Antiquities of the Western Parts of Newyork." Mr. Brackenridge has examined with great care, and described with fidelity, many of the most interesting ruins of Antiquity, which are found in the Western States and Territories; whilst Dr. Drake has thrown much light on these remains, in his valuable "Picture of Cincinnati and the Miami Country." By the aid of these GREAT LAMPS, and assisted by my own *dim taper*, I have ventured to enter the heretofore dark and intricate labyrinth, where so many unfortunate travellers have lost their

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Our Antiquities belong not only to different eras, in point of time, but to several nations; and those articles belonging to the same era and the same people, were intended by their authors to be applied to many different uses.

We shall divide these Antiquities into three classes. 1. Those belonging to Indians.—2. To people of European origin;—and 3. Those of that people who raised our ancient forts and tumuli.

Permit me here to premise, that in order to arrive at a result which shall be, to a certain extent, satisfactory to the candid inquirer after truth, it is necessary, not only to examine with care, and describe with fidelity, those Antiquities which are found in Ohio, but occasionally to cast a glance at those, found in other States, especially whenever they evidently, in common with ours, belong to the same people and the same era of time.

1. *Antiquities of Indians of the present race.*

Those Antiquities, which, in the strict sense of the term, belong to the North American Indians, are neither numerous nor very interesting. They consist of rude stone axes and knives, of pestles used in preparing maize for food, of arrowheads, and a few other articles so exactly similar to those found in all the Atlantic States, that a description of them

clue, and bewildered those who have undertaken to follow them. T. M. Harris, D.D. of Massachusetts, deserves honourable mention in this place. He and Dr. S. P. Hildreth of Marietta, Ohio, have described with great accuracy the Antiquities at the place last mentioned. Such writers, like the great luminary of day, give a steady light, on which we can place dependence; whilst the common herd of scribblers on this subject, resemble the ignis fatuus, which as the poet says, "leads to bewilder, and dazzles to blind."

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is deemed quite useless. He who wishes to find traces of Indian settlements, either numerous, or worthy of his notice, must visit the shore of the Atlantic, or the banks of the larger rivers, emptying themselves into it, on the eastern side of the Alleghanies. The sea spreads out a continual feast before men in a savage state, little versed in the arts of civilized life, who look upon all pursuits as degrading to their dignity as men, except such as belong either to war or the chase. Having once found the ocean, there they fix their abode, and never leave it, until they are compelled to do so, by a dense population, or the overwhelming force of a powerful and victorious foe. There they cast their lines, drag their nets, or rake up the shell fishes. Into the sea, they drive the bounding roe with their dogs, and pursue him through the waves in their canoes. When they are compelled to leave the sea, they follow up the larger streams, where their finny prey abounds in every brook, and the deer, the bear, the elk, the moose, or the buffalo feeds on every hill. Whatever the earth or water spontaneously produces, they take, and are satisfied. The ocean supplied them with never failing abundance; and the wild animals, feeding in immense numbers through the fine vales and over the fertile hills of Newengland, two centuries since, were, it is believed, more numerous, than they ever were in Ohio. That species of beech which affords the nut, on which, in autumn, winter and spring, the deer and several other kinds of animals feed, thrive and fatten, was once much more abundant there, than it ever was in this State. Hence the wild animals were

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more numerous there than here; hence too the reason why the Indian population was more dense in the east than it was in the west. It is believed, that when America was first visited by Europeans, our prairies were too wet for the habitations of men. Besides, if our Indians came from Asia by the way of Behring's Strait, they would naturally follow down the great chain of our northwestern lakes and their outlets, nearly or quite to the sea. This may be one reason why the Indian population, at the time when our ancestors first found them there, was more dense in the northern than in the southern, in the eastern than in the western parts of the present United States. That it was so, our own history incontestably proves. Hence we deduce the reason why the cemeteries of Indians are so large and numerous in the eastern, and so small and few in the western States. Hence the numerous other traces of Indian settlements, such as the immense piles of the shells of oysters, clams, &c. all along the sea shore, the great number of arrowheads and other articles belonging to them, in the eastern states, and their paucity here. There, we see the most indubitable evidences of the Indians having resided from very remote ages. Here, a few Indian cemeteries may be found, but they are never large, and when they are opened, ten chances to one but some article is discovered, which shows that the person has been buried since America was visited by people of European origin. An Indian's grave may frequently be known by the manner in which he was interred, which was gene-

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rally in a sitting or an upright posture. Wherever we behold a number of holes in the earth, without any regard to regularity, of about a foot and a half or two feet in diameter, there by digging a few feet, we can generally find an Indian's remains. Such graves are most common along the southern shore of lake Erie, which was formerly inhabited by the Cat and Ottoway Indians. Such graves are quite common in and near the small ancient works in that part of this state. They generally interred with the deceased, something of which he had been fond in his life time; with the warriour, his battle axe; with the hunter, his bow and arrows, and that kind of wild game of which he had been the fondest, or the most successful in taking; hence the teeth of the otter are found in the grave of one, those of the bear or the beaver in another. One had been most successful in hunting the turkey, whilst another had most signalized himself by fishing. The skeleton of the turkey is found in the grave of the former; muscle shells or fishes' bones in the grave of the latter.

2. *Antiquities belonging to people of European origin.*

Although this division of my subject may excite a smile, when it is recollected, that three centuries have not yet elapsed since this country has been visited by Europeans, yet as articles, derived from an intercourse, which has been kept up for more than one hundred and fifty years past, between the Aborigines and several European nations are some-

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times found here; and as these articles, thus derived, are frequently blended with those really very ancient, I beg leave to retain this division of Antiquities. The French were the first Europeans who traversed the territory included within the limits of the present state of Ohio. At exactly what time they *first* frequented these parts, and especially lake Erie, I have not been able to ascertain; but from authentick documents, published at Paris in the seventeenth century, we do know that they had large establishments in the territory belonging to the Six Nations, as early at least as 1655.* "A quarto volume in Latin, written by Francis Creuxieus, a jesuit, was published at Paris in 1664, and is entitled, 'Historiæ Canadeucis, seu Novæ Franciæ libri decem ad annum usque Christi MDCLVI.' It states that a French colony was established in the Onondaga territory about the year 1655, and it describes that highly interesting country: 'Ergo biduo post ingenti agmine deductus est ad locum gallorum sedi atque domicillio destinatum, leucas quatuor dissitum a pago, ubi primum pedum fixerat, bix quidquam a natura videre sit absolutius: ac si ars ut in Gallia, uteraque Europa, accederat, haud temere certaret cum Baiis. Pratum ingens cingit undique silva cædua ad ripam Lacus Gannanentæ, quo Nationes quatuor, principes Iroquoiæ totius regionis tanquam ad centrum navigolis confluere perfacile queant, et unde vicissim facillimus aditus sit ad eorum singulas, per amnes lacusque circumfluentes. Ferinæ copia certat cum copia piscium, atque ut ne desit quidquam, turtures eo indique

* Governour Clinton's "Memoir on the Antiquities of the western parts of Newyork."

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sub veris initium convolant, tanto numero, ut reti capianter piscium quidem certe volant, ut piscatores esse feranter qui unius noctis spatium anguillas ad mille singuli, hamo capiant. Pratum intersecant fontes duo, centum prope passu salter ab altero dissiti; alterius aqua salsa salis optimi copium subministrat, alterius lympha dulcis ad potionem est; et quod mirere, uterque ex uno eademque colle scaturet.'

"It appears from Charlevoix's History of New France, that Missionaries were sent to Onondaga in 1654; that they built a chapel and made a settlement; that a French colony was established there under the auspices of Le Sieur Depuys in 1656, and retired in 1658. When La Salle started from Canada and went down the Missisippi in 1679, he discovered a large plain between the lake of the Hurons and the Illinois, in which was a fine settlement belonging to the Jesuits."*

From this time forward the French are known to have traversed that part of this state which borders on lake Erie and the Ohio river, and the larger streams which are their tributaries. Under La Salle, father Hennepin and others, they were constantly traversing this territory in their journies to and from the valley of the Missisippi. Like other Europeans of that period, they took possession of the countries which they visited, in the name of their sovereign, and, not unfrequently, left some memorial of having done so, especially in the mouths of the larger rivers and in the most remarkable ancient works. At many of the most remark-

* See Governour Clinton's Memoir.

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able places which they discovered, after singing "Te Deum," they affixed the arms of France to some tree, deposited a medal in some remarkable cave, tumulus, or ancient fort, or in the mouth of some large river. Tonti, a Frenchman who accompanied La Salle in his first expedition from Canada to the Missisippi, informs us, in an account of this expedition, published at Paris in 1697, that at the mouth of the river last mentioned, the arms of France were fastened to a tree, "Te Deum" sung, formal possession of the country taken in the name of Louis XIV. and several huts built, surrounded with an intrenchment. Similar ceremonies were gone through at the mouth of the Illinois, the Wabash and Ohio, as we learn from several French travellers of that day, who published their accounts at Paris in the 17th century. Is it strange then that we should find similar medals, &c. at the mouths of other rivers, such as the great and little Miami, the Scioto, and especially the Muskingum? That medals were deposited in many places in this country, Father Hennepin, Touti, Joutel, and others, inform us; that similar medals have been found at other places is also certain.

A medal was found several years since, in the mouth of the Muskingum river, by the late Hon. Jehiel Gregory. It was a thin, round plate of lead, several inches in diameter; on one side of which, I was informed by Judge Gregory, was the French name of the river in which it lay, "Petit-belle riviere," and on the other "Louis XIV."

Near Portsmouth, a flourishing town at the mouth of the Scioto, a medal was found in alluvial earth,

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several years since, by a Mr. White, a number of feet below the surface, belonging, probably, to a recent era of time. This medal, I regret to state, is not in my possession, but it has been described to me by Gen. Robert Lucas and the Hon. Ezra Osborn, Esq. It was Masonick; the device on one side of it, represented a human heart with a sprig of cassia growing out of it; on the other side was a temple, with a cupola and spire, at the summit of which was a half moon, and there was a star in front of the temple. There were Roman letters on both sides of this medal, but what they were, Gen. Lucas and Judge Osborn have forgotten; they were probably abbreviations. That this medal had an European, and probably a French origin, there is little doubt, and belonged to a recent era of time.

In Trumbull county, several coins were found, not many years since, which, for a time, excited a considerable share of curiosity, until they were carefully examined by the present Governour of this state, who found that on one side of them was "George II." and on the other "Caroline," and dated in the reign of that prince.

In Harrison county, I have been credibly informed, that several coins were found, near an ancient work, evidently of European origin, belonging to a very recent era, compared with that of the ancient works where they reposed. These coins bore the name, and were dated in the reign of one of the English Charleses.

Near the mouth of Darby Creek, not far from Circleville, I have been credibly informed that a Spanish medal was found several years since, in a

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very good state of preservation, from which we learn that it was given by a Spanish Admiral to some person under the command of De Soto, who landed in Florida in 1538. There seems to me to be no great difficulty in accounting for such a medal being found here, near a water which runs into the Gulph of Mexico, even at such a distance from Florida, when it is recollected that a party of De Soto's men, an exploring company, which he sent out to reconnoitre the country, never returned to him nor were heard of afterwards. This medal might have been brought and lost where it was found, by the person to whom it was given, or by some Indian, who had rather have it in his own possession than in his captive's pocket.

Swords, gun barrels, knives, pickaxes, and implements of war, are often found along the banks of the Ohio, which had been left there by the French, when they had forts at Pittsburgh, Ligonier, St. Vincents, &c.

The traces of a furnace of fifty kettles, said to exist in Kentucky, a few miles in a southeastern direction from Portsmouth, appear to me to belong to the same era, and owe their origin to the same people.

Several Roman coins, said to have been found in a cave near Nashville, in Tennessee, bearing date not many centuries after the Christian era, have excited some interest among Antiquarians. They were either discovered where the finder had purposely lost them, or, what is more probable, had been left there by some European since this country was traversed by the French.

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That a Frenchman should be in possession of a few Roman coins, and that he should deposit them in some remarkable cave which he chanced to visit in his travels, is not surprising. That some persons have *purposely* lost coins, medals, &c. &c. in caves which they knew were about to be explored; or deposited them in tumuli, which they knew were about to be opened, is a well known fact, which has occurred at several places in this western country.

In one word, I will venture to assert, that there never has been found a medal, coin, or monument, in all North America, which had on it one or more letters, belonging to any alphabet, now or ever in use among men of any age or country, that did not belong to Europeans or their descendants, and had been brought or made here since the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus.

3. *Antiquities of the People who formerly inhabited the Western Parts of the United States.*

It is time to consider the third, last, and most highly interesting class of Antiquities, which comprehends those belonging to that people who erected our ancient forts and tumuli; those military works, whose walls and ditches cost so much labour in their structure, those numerous and sometimes lofty mounds, which owe their origin to a people far more civilized than our Indians, but far less so than Europeans. These works are interesting, on many accounts, to the Antiquarian, the Philosopher, and the Divine, especially when we consider the immense extent of country which they cover; the

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great labour which they cost their authors; the acquaintance with the useful arts, which that people had, when compared with our present race of Indians; the grandeur of many of the works themselves; the total absence of all historical records, or even traditionary accounts respecting them; the great interest which the learned have taken in them; the contradictory and erroneous accounts which have generally been given of them; to which we may add, the destruction of them which is going on in almost every place where they are found in this whole country, have jointly contributed to induce me to bestow no inconsiderable share of attention to this class of Antiquities. They were once forts, cemeteries, temples, altars, camps, towns, villages, race grounds, and other places of amusement, habitations of chieftains, videttes, watch towers, monuments, &c. These ancient works, especially the mounds, both of earth and stone, are found in every quarter of the habitable globe.

In what Parts of the World ancient Works of this kind are found.

These ancient works, so much talked about, and so little understood, are spread over an immense extent of country, in Europe and the northern parts of Asia. They may be traced from Wales to Scotland on the island of Britain;—they are found in Ireland, in Normandy, in France, in Sweden, and quite across the Russian empire, to our continent. In Africa we see pyramids, which derive their origin from the same source. In Judea, and throughout

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all Palestine, works similar to ours exist. In Tartary they abound in all the steppes. I know not whether Lewis and Clarke saw any of these works on Columbia river; but they did not traverse that country by land, and had of course but little opportunity to discover them, if there. But on this side of the Rocky Mountains they did see them frequently; and I have little doubt of their existing all the way, from the spot where, we are informed, the ark of Noah rested, to our northwestern lakes, down them and their outlets, as far as the Black River country, on the southern shore of lake Ontario in Newyork.

On the south side of Ontario, one not far from Black River, is the farthest in a northeastern direction on this continent. One on the Chenango river, at Oxford, is the farthest south, on the eastern side of the Alleghanies. These works are small, very ancient, and appear to mark the utmost extent of the settlement of the people who erected them in that direction. Coming from Asia, finding our great lakes, and following them down thus far, Were they driven back by the ancestors of our Indians? and, Were the small forts above alluded to, built in order to protect them from the aborigines who had before that time settled along the Atlantick coast? In travelling towards lake Erie, in a western direction from the works above mentioned, a few small works are occasionally found, especially in Genesee county; but they are few and small, until we arrive at the mouth of Catarangus creek, a water of lake Erie, in Catarangus county, in the state of Newyork, where Governour Clinton, in his "Memoir, &c."

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says a line of forts commences, extending south upwards of fifty miles, and not more than four or five miles apart. There is said to be another line of them parallel to these, which generally contain a few acres of ground only, whose walls are only a few feet in height. For an able account of the Antiquities in the western parts of Newyork, we must again refer to Governour Clinton's Memoir, not wishing to repeat what he has so well said.

If the works already alluded to, are real forts, they must have been built by a people few in number, and quite rude in the arts of life. Travelling towards the southwest, these works are frequently seen, but like those already mentioned, they are comparatively small, until we arrive on the Licking near Newark, where are some of the most extensive and intricate, as well as interesting, of any in this state, perhaps in the world. Leaving these, still proceeding in a southwestern direction, we find some very extensive ones at Circleville. At Chillicothe there were some, but the destroying hand of man has despoiled them of their contents, and entirely removed them. On Paint Creek are some, far exceeding all others in some respects, where probably was once an ancient city of great extent. At the mouth of the Scioto, are some very extensive ones, as well as at the mouth of the Muskingum. In fine, these works are thickly scattered over the vast plain from the southern shore of lake Erie, to the Mexican Gulph, increasing in number, size and grandeur as we proceed towards the south. They may be traced around the Gulph, across the province of Texas into Newmexico, and all the way

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into South America. They abound most in the vicinity of good streams, and are never, or rarely found, except in a fertile soil. They are not found in the prairies of Ohio, and rarely in the barrens, and there they are small, and situated on the edge of them, and on dry ground. From the Black River country in Newyork, to this state, I need say no more concerning them; but at Salem in Ashtabula county, there is one on a hill, which merits a few words, though it is a small one compared with others farther south. The work at Salem, is on a hill near Coneaught river, if my information be correct, and is about three miles from lake Erie. It is round, having two parallel circular walls, and a ditch between them. Through these walls, leading into the inclosure, are a gateway and a road, exactly like a modern turnpike, descending down the hill to the stream by such a gradual slope, that a team with a waggon might easily either ascend or descend it, and there is no other place by which these works could be approached, without considerable difficulty. Within the bounds of this ancient enclosure, the trees which grew there were such as denote the richest soil in this country, while those growing on the outside of these ruins, were such as denote the poorest.

On the surface of the earth, within this circular work, and immediately below it, pebbles rounded, and having their angles worn off in water, such as are now seen on the present shore of the lake, are found; but they are represented as bearing visible marks of having been burned in a hot fire. Bits of earthen ware, of a coarse kind, and of a rude struc-

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ture, without any glazing, are found here on the surface, and a few inches below it. This ware is represented to me as having been manufactured of sand stone and clay. My informant says, within this work are sometimes found skeletons of a people of small stature, which, if true, sufficiently identifies it to have belonged to that race of men who erected our tumuli. The vegetable mould covering the surface within the works, is at least ten inches in depth. In these same works have been found articles, evidently belonging to Indians, of their own manufacture, as well as others, which they had derived from their intercourse with Europeans and their descendants. I mention the fact here, thus particularly, in order to save the repetition of it, in describing nearly every work of this kind, especially along the shore of lake Erie, and the banks of the larger rivers. This circumstance I wish the reader to keep in mind. Indian Antiquities are always either on, or a very small distance below, the surface, unless buried in some grave; whilst articles, evidently belonging to that people who raised our mounds, are frequently found many feet below the surface, especially in river bottoms.

Still proceeding in a southwestern direction, there are, at different places, several small ancient works, scattered over the country, some in regular forms, and others appear to have been thrown up to suit the ground where they are situated; but their walls are only a few feet in height, encompassing, generally, but a few acres, with ditches of no great depth, evidently shewing the population to have been inconsiderable.

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I have been informed, that in the north part of Medina county, Ohio, there are some works, near one of which, a piece of marble well polished, was lately found. It might have been a composition of clay and sulphat of lime or plaster of Paris, such as I have often seen in and about ancient works along the Ohio river. A common observer would mistake the one for the other, which I am disposed to believe was the case here.

Ancient Works *near* NEWARK, Ohio.

Proceeding still to the southward, the ancient works become more and more numerous, and more intricate, and of greater size; denoting the increase of their authors, in number, strength, and a better acquaintance with the art of constructing them. At length we reach the interesting ones on two branches of the Licking, near Newark, in Licking county, Ohio, which, on many accounts, are quite as remarkable as any others in North America, or, perhaps in any part of the world.

By referring to the scale on which they are projected, it will be seen that these works are of great extent. [*See the Plate.*]

A. is a fort containing about forty acres, within its walls, which are, generally, I should judge, about ten feet in height. Leading into this fort, are 8 openings or gateways, about fifteen feet in width; in front of which, is a small mound of earth, in height and thickness resemblingthe outer wall. [*See m, m, m, m, m, m, m.*] These small mounds are about four feet longer than the gateway is in width; otherwise they look as if the wall had been moved

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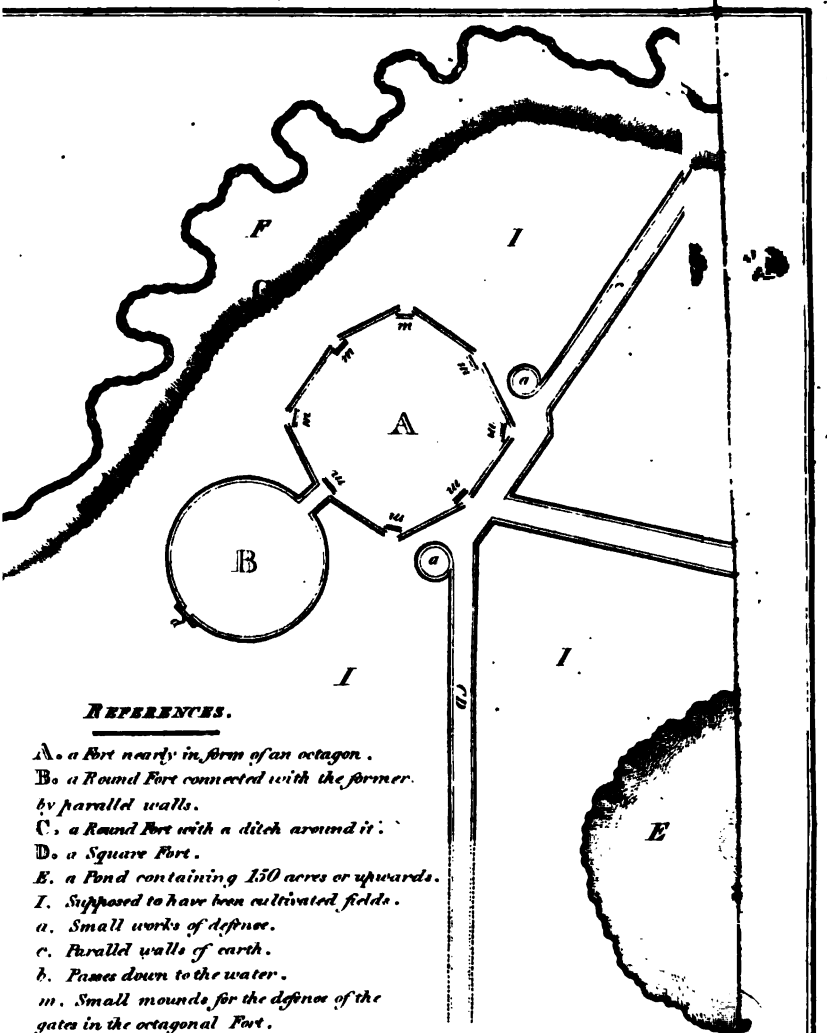

REFERENCES.

A. a Fort nearly in form of an octagon.
B. a Round Fort connected with the former by parallel walls.
C. a Round Fort with a ditch around it.
D. a Square Fort.
E. a Pond containing 150 acres or upwards.
I. Supposed to have been cultivated fields.
a. Small works of defence.
c. Parallel walls of earth.
b. Passes down to the water.
m. Small mounds for the defence of the gates in the octagonal Fort.
d. an Observatory partly of stone 30 feet high.
CD. Two parallel walls, surveyed on a mile or two, their total length unknown.
G. a Steep declivity 40 feet nearly perpendicular.
F. Alluvion formed since these works were deserted.

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into the fort eight or ten feet. These small mounds of earth were probably intended for the defence of the gates, opposite to which they are situated. The walls of this work, consisting of earth, are taken from the surface so carefully and uniformly, that it cannot now be discovered from what spot. They are as nearly perpendicular as the earth could be made to lie.

B. is a round fort, containing twentytwo acres, connected with *A.* by two parallel walls of earth of about the same height, &c. as those of *A.* At *d.* is an OBSERVATORY, built partly of earth and partly of stone. It commanded a full view of a considerable part, if not all the plain, on which these ancient works stand; and would do so now, were the thick growth of ancient forest trees, which clothe this tract, cleared away. Under this observatory, was a passage, from appearances, and a secret one probably, to the water course which once run near this spot, but has since moved farther off.

C. is a circular fort, containing about twentysix acres, having a wall around it, which was thrown out of a deep ditch on the inner side of the wall. This wall is now from twentyfive to thirty feet in height; and when I saw this work, the ditch was half filled with water, especially on the side towards *E.* There are parallel walls of earth, *c, c, c, c, c, c,* generally five or six rods apart, and four or five feet in height. Their extent may be measured by the reader, by referring to the scale annexed to the plates.

D. is a square fort, containing twenty acres, whose walls are similar to those of *A.*

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E, is a pond, covering from one hundred and fifty to two hundred acres; which was a few years since entirely dry, so that a crop of Indian corn was raised where the water is now ten feet in depth, and appears still to be rising. This pond sometimes reaches to the very walls of *C.* and to the parallel walls towards its northern end.

F, F, F, F, is the interval, or alluvion, made by the Racoon and south fork of Licking river, since they washed the foot of the hill at *G, G, G.* When these works were occupied, we have reason to believe that these streams washed the foot of this hill, and as one proof of it, passages down to the water have been made of easy ascent and descent at *b, b, b, b.*

G, G, G, an ancient bank of the creeks, which have worn their channels considerably deeper than they were when they washed the foot of this hill. These works stand on a large plain, which is elevated forty or fifty feet above the interval *F, F, F.* and is almost perfectly flat, and as rich a piece of land as can be found in any country. The reader will see the passes, where the authors of these works entered into their fields at *I, I, I, I, I.* and which were probably cultivated. The watch towers, *a, a, a, a*, were placed at the ends of parallel walls, or ground as elevated as could be found on this extended plain. They were surrounded by circular walls, now only four or five feet in height. It is easy to see the utility of these works, placed at the several points where they stand.

C. D. two parallel walls, leading probably to other works, but not having been traced more than a mile

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or two, are not laid down even as far as they were surveyed.

The high ground, near Newark, appears to have been the place, and the only one which I saw, where the ancient occupants of these works buried their dead, and even these tumuli appeared to me to be small. Unless others are found in the vicinity, I should conclude, that the original owners, though very numerous, did not reside here during any great length of time. I should not be surprized if the parallel walls *C. D.* are found to extend from one work of defence to another, for the space of thirty miles, all the way across to the Hockhocking, at some point a few miles north of Lancaster. Such walls having been discovered at different places, probably belonging to these works, for ten or twelve miles at least, leads me to suspect that the works on Licking, were erected by people who were connected with those who lived on the Hockhocking river, and that their road between the two settlements was between these parallel walls.

If I might be allowed to conjecture the use to which these works were originally put, I should say, that the larger works were really military ones of defence; that their authors lived within the walls; that the parallel walls were intended for the double purposes of protecting persons in times of danger, from being assaulted while passing from one work to another; and they might also serve as fences, with a very few gates, to fence in and enclose their fields, at *I, I, I, I.* as the plate will show.

The hearths, burnt charcoal, cinders, wood, ashes, &c. which were uniformly found in all similar

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places, that are now cultivated, have not been discovered here; this plain being probably an uncultivated forest. I found here, several arrow heads, such as evidently belonged to the people, who raised other similar works.

The care which is every where visible, about these ruins, to protect every part from a foe without; the high plain on which they are situated, which is generally forty feet above the country around it; the pains taken to get at the water, as well as to protect those who wished to obtain it; the fertile soil, which appears to me to have been cultivated, are circumstances not to be overlooked; they speak volumes in favour of the sagacity of their authors.

A few miles below Newark, on the south side of the Licking, are some of the most extraordinary holes, dug in the earth, for number and depth, of any within my knowledge, which belonged to the people we are treating of. In popular language, they are called "wells," but were not dug for the purpose of procuring water, either fresh or salt.

There are at least a thousand of these "*wells;*" many of them are now more than twenty feet in depth. A great deal of curiosity has been excited, as to the objects sought for, by the people who dug these holes. One gentleman nearly ruined himself, by digging in and about these works, in quest of the precious metals; but he found nothing very precious. I have been at the pains to obtain specimens of all the minerals, in and near these wells. They have not all of them been put to proper tests; but I can say, that rock crystals, some of them very

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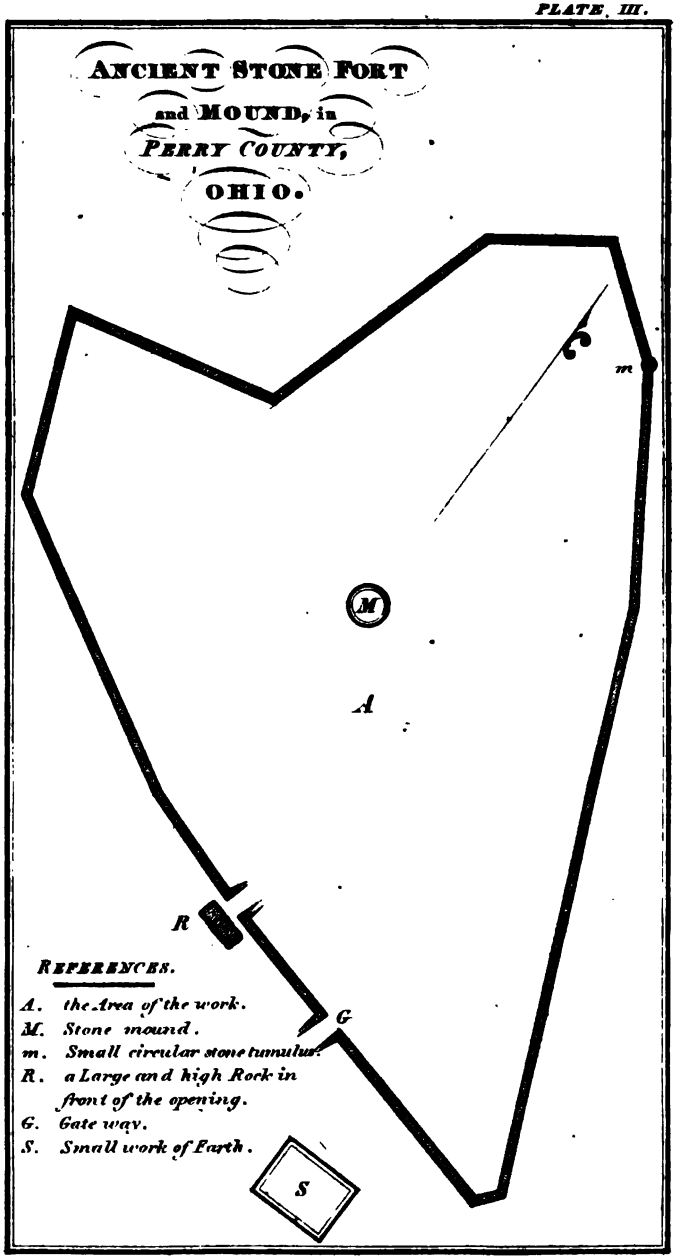

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beautiful, and horn stone, suitable for arrow and spear heads, and a little lead, sulphur, and iron, was all that I could ascertain correctly to belong to the specimens in my possession. Rock crystals, and stone arrow and spear heads, were in great repute among them, if we are to judge from the numbers of them, found in such of the mounds as were common cemeteries. To a rude people, nothing would stand a better chance of being esteemed, as an ornament, than such a stone.

On the whole, I am of the opinion, that these holes were dug for the purpose of procuring the articles above named; and that it is highly probable, a vast population once *here*, procured these, in their estimation, highly ornamental and useful articles. And it is possible that they might have procured some lead here, though by no means probable, because we no where find any lead which ever belonged to them, and it will not very soon, like iron, become an oxyde, by rusting.

Ancient Works in PERRY COUNTY, Ohio.

Southwardly from the great works on the Licking, four or five miles in a northwestern direction from Somerset, the seat of justice for Perry county, and on section twentyone, township seven, range sixteen, is an ancient work of stone. [*See the plate.*]

A. is the area of this work, *M.* a stone mound near the centre of it. This stone mound is circular, and in form of a sugar loaf, from twelve to fifteen feet in height. There is a smaller circular stone tumulus

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at *m*, standing in the wall, which encloses the work, and constituting a part of it.

R. is a large and high rock, lying in front of an opening in the outer wall. This opening is a passage between two large rocks, which lie in the wall, of from seven to ten feet in width. These rocks, on the outside, present a perpendicular front of ten feet in altitude, but after extending fifty yards into the enclosure, they enter the earth and disappear. There is a gateway at *G.* much as is represented in the plate.

S. is a small work, whose area is half an acre; the walls are of earth, and of a few feet only in height. This large stone work contains within its walls forty acres and upwards. The walls, as they are called in popular language, consist of rude fragments of rocks, without any marks of any iron tool upon them. These stones lie in the utmost disorder, and if laid up in a regular wall, would make one seven feet or seven feet six inches in height, and from four to six feet in thickness. I do not believe this ever to have been a military work, either of defence or offence; but if a military work, it must have been a temporary camp. From the circumstance of this work's containing two stone tumuli, such as were used in ancient times, as altars and as monuments, for the purpose of perpetuating the memory of some great era, or important event in the history of those who raised them, I should rather suspect this to have been a sacred enclosure, or "high place," which was resorted to on some great anniversary. It is on high ground, and destitute of water, and of

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course, could not have been a place of habitation for any length of time. It might have been the place, where some solemn feast was annually held by the tribe by which it was formed. The place has become a forest, and the soil is too poor to have ever been cultivated by a people who invariably chose to dwell on a fertile spot. These monuments of ancient manners, how simple and yet how sublime. Their authors were rude, and unacquainted with the use of letters, yet they raised monuments, calculated almost for endless duration, and speaking a language as expressive as the most studied inscriptions of latter times upon brass and marble. These monuments, their stated anniversaries and traditionary accounts, were their means of perpetuating the recollection of important transactions. Their authors are gone; their monuments remain; but the events, which they were intended to keep in the memory, are lost in oblivion.

Ancient Works at MARIETTA, Ohio.

Having already described several ancient works, either on or near the waters of the Muskingum, I shall trace them down that river. But there are none of any considerable note, except those on the Licking, which falls into that stream, at Zanesville, until we arrive at some, situated near its banks in Morgan county, which, however, have not been surveyed. These are mounds of earth and stones, and their description is reserved, until we arrive at that part of this memoir, which will be devoted to a consideration of that class of Antiquities.

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Proceeding down the Muskingum to its mouth, at Marietta, are some of the most extraordinary ancient works, any where to be found. They have been often examined, and as often very well described; yet as some additional facts have come to my knowledge, and as other works in many parts of the western country are similar to them; and as comparisons ought to be instituted between works evidently of the same class, I have ventured to collect together a mass of facts concerning them, derived from several intelligent persons, who have published their statements, as well as some from others who have obligingly laid before me additional information.

Manasseh Cutler, LL. D. many years since, published an accurate account of these works. Next followed "The Journal of a Tour" into this country, by Thaddeus M. Harris, D. D. in which may be found much useful information concerning them, accompanied by a diagram sketch of them, very accurately drawn from actual survey, by Gen. Rufus Putnam, of Marietta. I have carefully compared these well written accounts with those which I have received from Dr. S. P. Hildreth, of Marietta, Gen. Edward W. Tupper, of Gallipolis, and several other gentlemen residing on the Ohio.—From these highly respectable sources, I have drawn my information. These works have been more fortunate than many others of this kind in North America; no despoiling hand has been laid upon them; and no blundering, hasty traveller has, to my knowledge, pretended to describe them. The mound which was used as a cemetery is entire,

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standing in the burying ground of the present town. Cutler, Putnam and Harris are intelligent men.

It will be seen that I have quoted largely from Drs. Cutler and Harris; not, however, without first ascertaining that their accounts were perfectly correct, as to all the *facts* which they have stated.

*"The situation of these works is on an elevated plain, above the present bank of the Muskingum, on the east side, and about half a mile from its junction with the Ohio. They consist of walls and mounds of earth, in direct lines, and in square and circular forms.

"The largest square fort, by some called the town, contains 40 acres, encompassed by a wall of earth, from 6 to 10 feet high, and from 25 to 36 feet in breadth at the base. On each side are three openings, at equal distances, resembling 12 gateways. The entrances at the middle, are the largest, particularly on the side next to the Muskingum. From this outlet is a covert way, formed of two parallel walls of earth, 231 feet distant from each other, measuring from centre to centre. The walls at the most elevated part, on the inside, are 21 feet in height, and 42 in breadth at the base, but on the outside average only five feet in height. This forms a passage of about 360 feet in length, leading by a gradual descent to the low grounds, where, at the time of its construction, it probably reached the river. Its walls commence at 60 feet from the ramparts of the fort, and increase in elevation as the way descends towards the river; and the bottom is crowned in the

* Harris's Tour, page 149.

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centre, in the manner of a well founded turnpike road.

"Within the walls of the fort, at the northwest corner, is an oblong elevated square, 188 feet long, 132 broad, and nine feet high; level on the summit, and nearly perpendicular at the sides. At the centre of each of the sides, the earth is projected, forming gradual ascents to the top, equally regular, and about six feet in width. Near the south wall is another elevated square, 150 feet by 120, and eight feet high, similar to the other, excepting that instead of an ascent to go up on the side next the wall, there is a hollow way 10 feet wide, leading 20 feet towards the centre, and then rising with a gradual slope to the top. At the southeast corner is a third elevated square, 108 by 54 feet, with ascents at the ends, but not so high nor perfect as the two others. A little to the southwest of the centre of the fort is a circular mound, about 30 feet in diameter and five feet high, near which are four small excavations at equal distances, and opposite each other. At the southwest corner of the fort is a semicircular parapet, crowned with a mound, which guards the opening in the wall. Towards the southeast, is a smaller fort, containing 20 acres, with a gateway in the centre of each side and at each corner. These gateways are defended by circular mounds.

"On the outside of the smaller fort is a mound, in form of a sugar loaf, of a magnitude and height which strike the beholder with astonishment. Its base is a regular circle, 115 feet in diameter; its perpendicular altitude is 30 feet. It is surrounded by a ditch four feet deep and 15 feet wide, and de-

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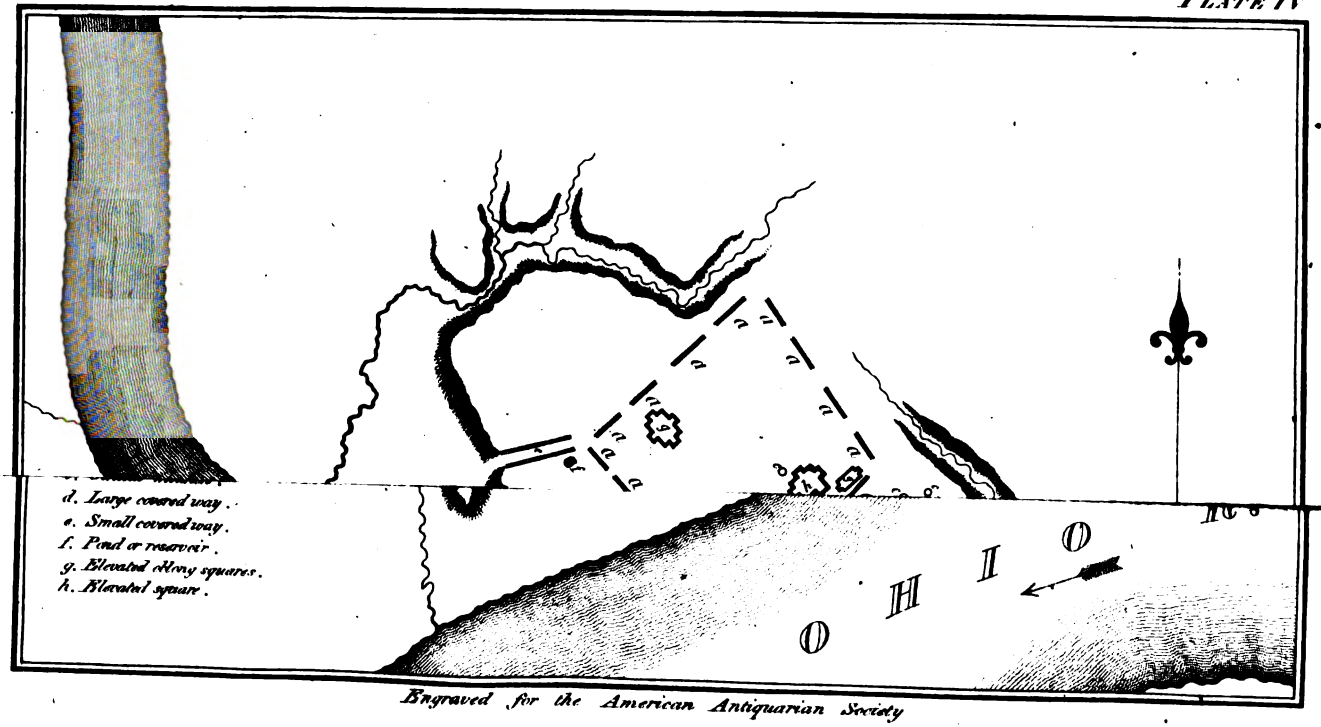
PLATE IV



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fended by a parapet four feet high, through which is a gateway towards the fort, 20 feet in width. There are other walls, mounds, and excavations less conspicuous and entire, which will be best understood by referring to the annexed drawings."

Some additional particulars respecting these works, are contained in the following extracts from a letter, written by Dr. S. P. Hildreth, of Marietta, to the author, dated 8th June, 1819.

"Mr. Harris, in his '*Tour*,' has given a tolerably good account of the present appearance of the works, as to height, shape and form. (I must refer you to this work.) The principal excavation, or well, is as much as 60 feet in diameter, at the surface; and when the settlement was first made, it was at least 20 feet deep. It is at present, 12 or 14 feet; but has been filled up a great deal from the washing of the sides by frequent rains. It was originally of the kind formed in the most early days, when the water was brought up by hand in pitchers, or other vessels, by steps formed in the sides of the well.

"The pond, or reservoir, near the northwest corner of the large fort, was about 25 feet in diameter, and the sides raised above the level of the adjoining surface by an embankment of earth three or four feet high. This was nearly full of water at the first settlement of the town, and remained so until the last winter, at all seasons of the year. When the ground was cleared near the well, a great many logs that laid nigh, were rolled into it, to save the trouble of piling and burning them. These, with the annual

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deposit of leaves, &c. for ages, had filled the well nearly full; but still the water rose to the surface, and had the appearance of a stagnant pool. In early times, poles and rails have been pushed down into the water, and deposit of rotten vegetables, to the depth of 30 feet. Last winter the person who owns the well, undertook to drain it, by cutting a ditch from the well into the *small* "*covert way;*" and he has dug to the depth of about 12 feet, and let the water off to that distance. He finds the sides of the reservoir not perpendicular, but projecting gradually towards the centre of the well, in the form of an inverted cone. The bottom and sides, so far as he has examined, are lined with a stratum of very fine, ash coloured clay, about 8 or 10 inches in thickness; below which, is the common soil of the place, and above it, this vast body of decayed vegetation. The proprietor calculates to take from it several hundred loads of excellent manure, and to continue to work at it, until he has satisfied his curiosity, as to the depth and contents of the well. If it was actually a well, it probably contains many curious articles, which belonged to the ancient inhabitants.

"On the outside of the parapet, near the *oblong square*, I picked up a considerable number of fragments of ancient potters' ware. This ware is ornamented with lines, some of them quite curious and ingenious, on the outside. It is composed of clay and fine gravel, and has a partial glazing on the inside. It seems to have been burnt, and capable of holding liquids. The fragments, on breaking them, look quite black, with brilliant particles, appearing

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as you hold them to the light. The ware which I have seen, found near the rivers, is composed of shells and clay, and not near so hard as this found on the plain. It is a little curious, that of 20 or 30 pieces which I picked up, nearly all of them were found on the outside of the parapet, as if they had been thrown over the wall purposely. This is, in my mind, strong presumptive evidence, that the parapet was crowned with a palisade. The chance of finding them on the inside of the parapet, was equally good, as the earth had been recently ploughed, and planted with corn. Several pieces of copper have been found in and near to the ancient works, at various times. One piece, from the description I had of it, was in the form of a cup with low sides, the bottom very thick and strong. The small mounds in this neighbourhood have been but slightly, if at all examined.

"The avenues, or places of ascent on the sides of the elevated squares, are ten feet wide, instead of six, as stated by Mr. Harris. His description, as to height and dimensions, are otherwise correct.

"There was lately found at Waterford, not far from the bank of the Muskingum, a magazine of spear and arrow heads, sufficient to fill a peck measure. They laid in one body, occupying a space of about eight inches in width and 18 in length, and at one end about a foot from the surface of the earth, and 18 inches at the other; as though they had been buried in a box, and one end had sunk deeper in the earth than the other. They were found by Mr. B. Dana of Waterford, as he was digging the earth to remove a large pear tree. The spot was former-

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ly covered by a house, in the early settlement of the place. They appear never to have been used, and are of various lengths from six to two inches; they have no shanks, but are in the shape of a triangle, with two long sides, thus ."

It is worthy of remark, that the walls and mounds were not thrown up from ditches, but raised by bringing the earth from a distance, or taking it up uniformly from the plain; resembling, in that respect, most of the ancient works at Licking, already described. It has excited some surprize that the tools have not been discovered here, with which these works were constructed. Those who have examined these ruins, seem not to have been aware, that with shovels made of wood, earth enough to have constructed these works might have been taken from the surface, with as much ease, almost, as if they were made of iron. This will not be as well understood on the east as the west side of the Alleghanies; but those who are acquainted with the great depth and looseness of our vegetable mould, which lies on the surface of the earth, and of course, the ease with which it may be raised by wooden tools, will cease to be astonished at what would be an immense labour in what geologists call "primitive" countries. Besides, had the people who raised these works, been in possession of, and used ever so many tools, manufactured from iron, by lying either on or under the earth, during all that long period which has intervened between their authors and us, they would have long since oxydized by "rusting," and left but faint traces of their existence behind them.

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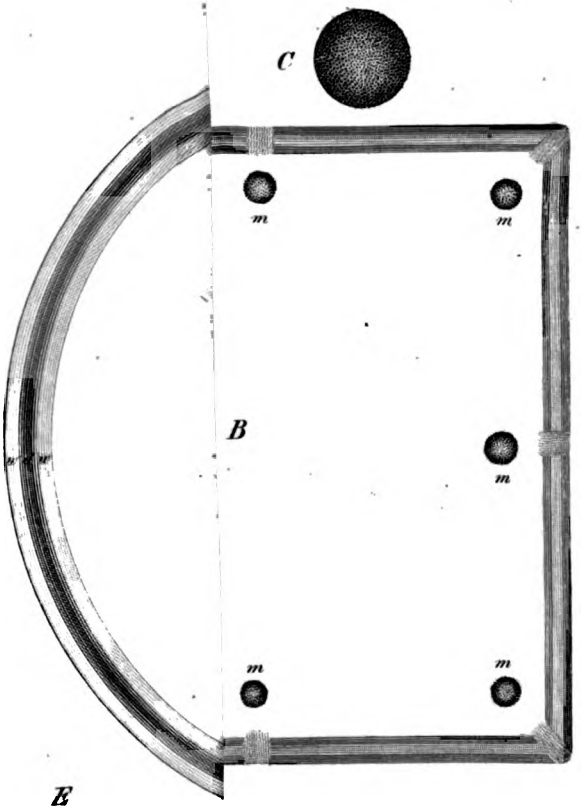

ERENCES.

Fort.

ditch.

arallel walls of Earth.

Fort.

s of Earth. C. a Large mound.

d with a Semicircular pavement. E. Do. 90 Feet High.

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Ancient Works at CIRCLEVILLE, Ohio.

Having noticed the principal works of this kind on the waters of the Muskingum, we shall next consider those which might have once been military works on the waters of the Scioto.

From near Lower Sandusky, I am not informed of any worthy of notice, that is, "forts," until we arrive at Circleville, 26 miles south of Columbus.

These are situated not far from the junction of Hargus's creek with the latter river, which is on the east side of the river, and south side of the creek. By referring to the plate, the reader will be better enabled to understand the description which follows.

There are two forts, one being an exact circle, the other an exact square. The former is surrounded by two walls, with a deep ditch between them. The latter is encompassed by one wall, without any ditch. The former was 69 feet in diameter, measuring from outside to outside of the circular outer wall; the latter is exactly 55 rods square measuring the same way. The walls of the circular fort were at least 20 feet in height, measuring from the bottom of the ditch, before the town of Circleville was built. The inner wall was of clay, taken up probably in the northern part of the fort, where was a low place, and is still considerably lower than any other part of the work. The outside wall was taken from the ditch which is between these walls, and is alluvial, consisting of pebbles worn smooth in water, and sand, to a very considerable depth, more than 50 feet at least. The outside

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of the walls is about five or six feet in height now; on the inside, the ditch is, at present, generally not more than 15 feet. They are disappearing before us daily, and will soon be gone. The walls of the square fort, are, at this time, where left standing, about 10 feet in height. There were eight gateways, or openings, leading into the square fort, and only one into the circular fort. Before each of these openings was a mound of earth, perhaps four feet high, 40 feet perhaps in diameter at the base, and 20 or upwards at the summit. These mounds, for two rods or more, are exactly in front of the gateways, and were intended for the defence of these openings.

As this work was a perfect square, so the gateways and their watch towers were equidistant from each other. These mounds were in a perfectly straight line, and exactly parallel with the wall.—Those small mounds were at *m*, *m*, *m*, *m*, *m*, *m*, *m*. The black line at *d*, represents the ditch, and *w*, *w*, represent the two circular walls.

D. [The reader is referred to the plate.] Shows the scite of a once very remarkable ancient mound of earth, with a semicircular pavement on its eastern side, nearly fronting, as the plate represents, the only gateway leading into this fort. This mound is entirely removed; but the outline of the semicircular pavement, may still be seen in many places, notwithstanding the dilapidations of time, and those occasioned by the hand of man. This mound, the pavement, the walk from the east to its elevated summit, the contents of the mound, &c. will be described under the head of mounds.

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The earth in these walls was as nearly perpendicular as it could be made to lie. This fort had originally but one gateway leading into it on its eastern side, and that was defended by a mound of earth, several feet in height, at *m. i.* Near the centre of this work, was a mound, with a semicircular pavement on its eastern side, some of the remains of which may still be seen by an intelligent observer. The mound at *m. i.* has been entirely removed, so as to make the street level, from where it once stood.

B. is a square fort, adjoining the circular one, as represented by the plate, the area of which has been stated already. The wall which surrounds this work, is generally, now, about 10 feet in height, where it has not been manufactured into brick.—There are seven gateways leading into this fort, besides the one which communicates with the square fortification, that is, one at each angle, and another in the wall, just half way between the angular ones. Before each of these gateways was a mound of earth of four or five feet in height, intended for the defence of these openings.

The extreme care of the authors of these works to protect and defend every part of the circle, is no where visible about this square fort. The former is defended by two high walls; the latter by one. The former has a deep ditch encircling it; this has none. The former could be entered at one place only; this at eight, and those about 20 feet broad. The present town of Circleville covers all the round and the western half of the square fort. These fortifications, where the town stands, will entirely disappear in a few years; and I have used the only means

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within my power, to perpetuate their memory, by the annexed drawing and this brief description.

Where the wall of the square fort has been manufactured into brick, the workmen found some ashes, calcined stones, sticks, and a little vegetable mould, all of which must have been taken up from the surface of the surrounding plain. As the square fort is a *perfect* square, so the gateways or openings are at equal distances from each other, and on a right line parallel with the wall. The walls of this work vary a few degrees from north and south, east and west; but not more than the needle varies, and not a few surveyors have, from this circumstance, been impressed with the belief that the authors of these works were acquainted with astronomy.—What surprized me, on measuring these forts, was the exact manner in which they had laid down their circle and square; so that after every effort, by the most careful survey, to detect some errour in their measurement, we found that it was impossible, and that the measurement was much more correct, than it would have been, in all probability, had the present inhabitants undertaken to construct such a work. Let those consider this circumstance, who affect to believe these antiquities were raised by the ancestors of the present race of Indians. Having learned something of astronomy, what nation, living as our Indians have, in the open air, with the heavenly bodies in full view, could have forgotten such knowledge?

Some hasty travellers, who have spent an hour or two here, have concluded that the "forts" at Circleville were not raised for military, but for religious

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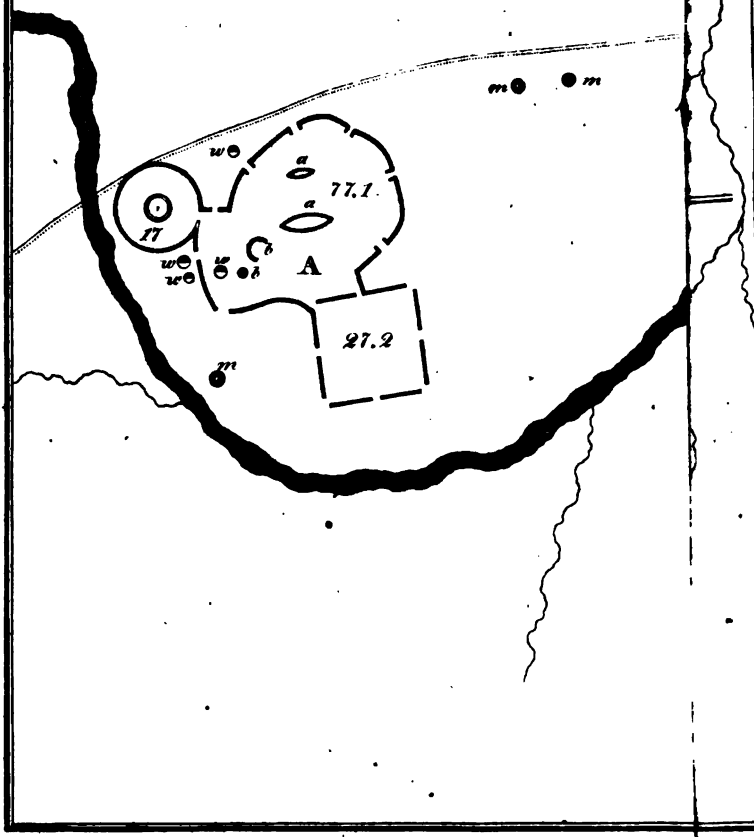
ANCIENT WORKS,

on

PAINT CREEK

OHIO.



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purposes, because there were two extraordinary tumuli here. A gentleman in one of our Atlantick cities, who has never crossed the Alleghanies, has written to me, that *he* is fully convinced that they were raised for religious purposes. Men thus situated, and with no correct means of judging, will hardly be convinced by any thing I can say. Nor do I address myself to them, directly or indirectly; for it has long been my maxim, that it is worse than in vain to spend one's time in endeavouring to reason men out of opinions for which they never had any reasons.

The round fort was picketed in, if we are to judge from the appearance of the ground on and about the walls. Half way up the outside of the inner wall, is a place distinctly to be seen, where a row of *pickets* once stood, and where it was placed when this work of defence was originally erected. Finally, this work about its wall and ditch, eight years since, presented as much of a defensive aspect as forts which were occupied in our wars with the French, in 1755, such as Oswego, Fort Stanwix, and others. These works have been examined by the first military men now living in the United States, and they have uniformly declared their opinion to be, that they were military works of defence.

Ancient Works *on the* Main Branch *of* PAINT CREEK, Ohio.

The nearest of these are situated about eleven, and the furthest fifteen miles, westwardly, from the town of Chillicothe. The plate will assist us in de-

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scribing them; to which we refer. Their contents, in acres and tenths, are set down on the plate. These works were very carefully surveyed by Mr. Perrin Kent, and the drawing was made by George Wolfley, Esq. of Circleville.

We shall begin with work *B.* situated on the farms of Capt. George Yocan, and Mr. John Harness. The gateways, it will be seen, are numerous, and are from eight to twenty feet wide. The walls are generally about ten feet high at this time, and rise to that height immediately at the gateways. These walls are composed of the common soil, which seems to have been taken up from no particular spot, but uniformly from near the surface. That part of this work which is square, has eight gateways; the sides of this square are sixty-six rods in length, containing an area of 27 acres 2 tenths. This part of the work has three gateways, connecting it with the larger one; one of which, is between two parallel walls, about four feet high. A small rivulet, rising towards the southwest side of the larger part of the largest work, runs through the wall, and sinks into the earth at *w. s.* Some suppose this sink hole to have been a work of art, originally. It is fifteen feet deep, and thirtynine across it, at the surface. There are two mounds, the one within, and another just outside of this work, represented by *m, m;* the latter is twenty feet high at this time.

Works at *A.* are all connected as represented in the plate. Their several contents will be seen by referring to it. The square work, it will be seen, contains exactly the same area with the square one be-

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longing to *B.* and is, in all other respects, so much like that work, that to describe this, would be to repeat what has been said concerning the former. Such coincidences are very common, in our ancient works; so that a correct description of one, applies to hundreds in different parts of the country.

There is no mound within its walls, but there is one about ten feet high, nearly one hundred rods to the west of it. The large irregular part of the larger work, contains, as will be seen, 77. 1 acres, in the walls of which are eight gateways, besides the two leading into the square just described. These gateways are from one to six rods in width, differing in that respect, very much one from another.

Connected by a gateway with this large work, is another in the northwest, sixty poles in diameter. In its centre is another circle, whose walls are now about four feet high, and this lesser circle six rods in diameter. There are three ancient wells at *w*, *w*, *w*. one of which is on the inside, the others on the outside of the wall. As the drawing shows, within the large work of irregular form, are two elevations, which are elliptical. The largest one is near the centre; its elevation is twentyfive feet; its longest diameter is twenty rods; its shortest, ten rods; its area is nearly one hundred and fiftynine square rods. This work is composed mostly of stones, in their natural state. They must have been brought from the bed of the creek, or from the hill. This elevated work is full of human bones. Some have not hesitated to express a be-

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lief, that on this work human beings were once sacrificed.

The other elliptical work has two stages; one end of it is only about eight feet high, the other end is fifteen. The surfaces of both are smooth. Such works are not as common here as on the Missisippi, and they are more common still further south, in Mexico.

There is a work in form of a half moon, set round the edges with stones, such as are now found about one mile from the spot from whence they were probably brought. Near this semicircular work, is a very singular mound, five feet high, thirty feet in diameter, and composed entirely of a red ochre, which answers very well as a paint. An abundance of this ochre is found on a hill not a great distance from this place; and from this circumstance, the name of the fine stream in the vicinity, in all probability is derived. It is called "Paint Creek."

The wells already mentioned, may be thus described. They are very broad at the top, one of them is six rods, another four; the former is now fifteen feet in depth, the latter ten. There is water in them, and they are like the one at Marietta, described by Dr. Hildreth. Near the limestone road, are several such ones.

The most interesting work, represented on the plate by *C.* remains to be noticed. It is situated on a high hill, believed to be more than three hundred feet in height, which is in many places almost perpendicular. The walls of this, consist of stones in their natural state. This wall was built upon

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the very brow of this hill, almost all around, except at *D.* where the ground is level. It had originally two gateways, at the only places where roads could be made to the interval below. At the northern gateway, stones enough now lie, to have built two considerable round towers. From thence to the creek is a natural, perhaps there was once an artificial, road. The stones lie scattered about in confusion, and consist mostly of what Mc. Clure would call the old red sand stone, taken from the sides of the hill on which this "walled town" once stood. Enough of these stones lie here, to have furnished materials for a wall four feet in thickness, and ten feet in height. On the inside of the wall, at line *D.* there appears to have been a row of furnaces or smiths' shops, where the cinders now lie many feet in depth.

I am not able to say with certainty, what manufactures were carried on here, nor can I say whether brick or iron tools were made here, or both. It was clay, that was exposed to the action of fire; the remains are four or five feet in depth, even now, at some places. Iron ore, in this country, is sometimes found in such clay; brick and potters' ware are manufactured out of it, in some other instances. This wall encloses an area of one hundred and thirty acres. It was one of the strongest places in this state, from its situation, so high is its elevation, so nearly perpendicular are the sides of the hill on which it stood.

The courses of the wall correspond with those of the very brow of the hill; and the quantity of stones is the greatest on each side of the gateways,

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and at any turn in the course of the wall, as if towers and battlements had been here erected. If the works at *A.* and *B.* were "sacred enclosures," this was the strong military work which defended them. No military man could have selected a better position for a place of protection to his countrymen, their temples, their altars, and gods.

In the bed of Paint Creek, which washes the foot of the hill on which the "walled town" stood, are four wells, worthy of our notice. They were dug through a pyritous slate rock, which is very rich in iron ore. When first discovered, by a person passing over them in a canoe, they were covered over, each, by a stone, of about the size, and very much in the shape, of the common millstone, now in use in our grist mills. These covers had a hole through their centre, through which a large pry or handspike might be put, for the purpose of removing them off and on the wells. The hole through the centre was about four inches in diameter. The wells at the top, were more than three feet in diameter, and stones well wrought with tools, so as to make good joints, as a stone mason would say, were laid around the several wells.

I had a good opportunity to examine these wells, the stream in which they are sunk, being very low. The covers are now broken to pieces, and the wells filled with pebbles. That they are works of art, is beyond a doubt. For what purpose they were dug, has been a question among those who have visited them, as the wells themselves are in the stream. The bed of the creek was not here in all probability, when these were sunk. These wells, with stones at

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their mouths, resemble those described to us in the patriarchal ages. Were they not dug in those days?

At *E.* is a circular work, containing between seven and eight acres, whose walls are not now more than ten feet high, surrounded with a ditch, except at one place, perhaps four rods broad, where there is an opening much resembling a modern turnpike road, leading down into the interval land, adjoining the creek. At the end of the ditch, adjoining the wall on each side of this road, is a spring of very good water. Down to the largest one is the appearance of an ancient road. These springs were dug down considerably, or rather the earth where they now rise, by the hand of man.

General William Vance's dwelling house now occupies this gateway, and his orchard and fruit yard the area within this ancient, sacred enclosure.

Ancient Worrs *at* PORTSMOUTH, Ohio.

Descending the Scioto to its mouth, at Portsmouth, we find an ancient work, which I doubt not was a military one of defence, situated on the Kentucky shore, nearly opposite the town of Alexandria. The reader is referred to the accurate drawing of all the works near this place, taken on the spot, from actual examination and survey. The importance of this place, it seems was duly appreciated by the people, who in "olden time" resided here. To their attachment to this part of the country, as well as the great population which must have been here, are we indebted for the

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striking and numerous traces of a once flourishing settlement.

The annexed plate will enable the reader to form a very correct idea of these ancient remains.

On the Kentucky side of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Scioto river, is a large fort, with an elevated, large mound of earth near its southwestern outside angle, and parallel walls of earth, as represented by *p, p, p, p.* The eastern parallel walls have a gateway leading down a high steep bank of a river to the water. They are about ten rods asunder, and from four to six feet in height at this time, and connected with the fort by a gateway. Two small rivulets have worn themselves channels quite through these walls, from ten to twenty feet in depth, since they were deserted, from which their antiquity may be inferred.

The fort is represented by *F.* on the plate, which is nearly a square, with five gateways, whose walls of earth are now from fourteen to twenty feet in height.

From the gateway, at the northwest corner of this fort, commenced two parallel walls of earth, extending nearly to the Ohio, in a bend of that river, where, in some low ground near the bank, they disappear. The river seems to have moved its bed a little, since these walls were thrown up. A large elevated mound at the southwest corner of the fort, on the outside of the fortification, is represented by *m.* It appears not to have been used as a place of sepulture; it is too large to have belonged to that class of Antiquities. It is a large work, raised perhaps twenty feet or more, very level on its surface, and I

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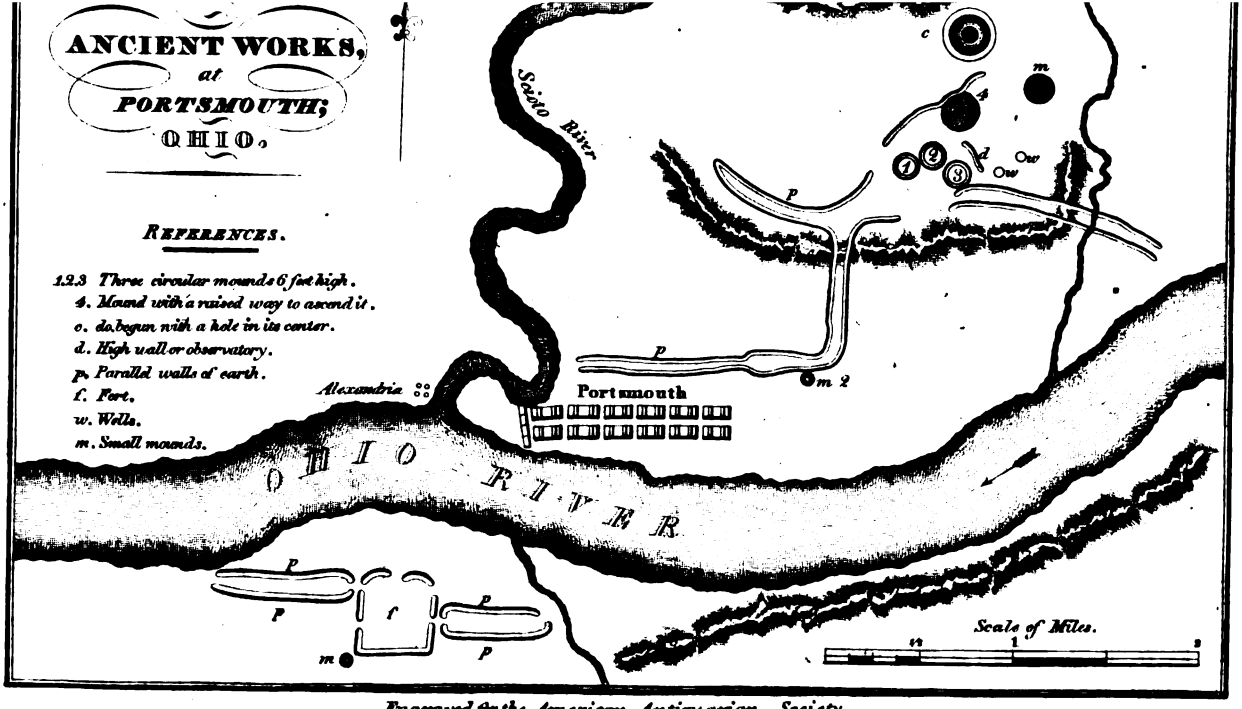

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should suppose contains half an acre of ground. It seems to me, to have been designed for uses similar to the elevated squares at Marietta. Between these works and the Ohio, is a body of fine interval land, which was nearly enclosed by them, aided by the river, and a creek, which has high perpendicular banks. Buried in the walls of this fort, have been found and taken out, large quantities of iron, manufactured into pickaxes, shovels, gun barrels, &c. evidently secreted there by the French, when they fled from the victorious and combined forces of England and America; at the time fort Du Quesne, afterwards fort Pitt, was taken from them. Excavations made in quest of these hidden treasures, are to be seen on these walls, and in many other places near them.

Several of their graves have been opened and articles found, which leave no doubt on my mind as to their authors, nor any great doubt as to the time when they were deposited here.

On the north side of the river, are works still more extensive than these, more intricate, and of course, more impressive. We must again refer to the plate, in order to shorten our labour in description, and at the same time, give a clearer idea of them than otherwise could be obtained.

Commencing in the low ground, near the present bank of the Scioto river, which seems to have changed a little since these works were raised, are two parallel walls of earth, quite similar to those already described on the other side of the Ohio, as to their height, and their being composed of earth

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taken up uniformly from the surface, so as not to leave any traces by which we perceive from whence it was taken. This was probably owing to the rudeness of the tools used in constructing these walls. From the bank of the Scioto, they lead eastwardly, for a considerable distance, [as a reference to the scale on which these ruins are laid down will show, and which is an inch to a mile,] continuing about eight or ten rods apart, when, suddenly, they widen at a short distance to the east of the dwelling house of John Brown, Esq. and continue about twenty rods apart, with a curve towards the elevated ground, which they ascend in the manner represented by the drawing. This hill is very steep, and forty or fifty feet high; after rising which, we again find level land, and a fine rich, but ancient alluvion of the Ohio. Here, near a curve in the parallel walls, is a well on the brow of the hill, at this time twentyfive feet, perhaps, in depth; but from the immense quantity of rounded pebbles and sand, of which the earth here consists, after passing through the deep black vegetable mould on the surface, we are involuntarily led to believe, that this well was once quite deep enough to have its bottom on a level with the surface of the river, even in a low time of water in that stream.

The figures 1, 2, 3, represent three circular tumuli, elevated about six feet above the adjacent plain, and each of them contains nearly an acre. Not far from these, at 4, is a still higher similar work, so high, indeed, that it was necessary to throw up a way similar to a modern turnpike road, in order to ascend it. This work is now more than twenty

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feet in perpendicular height, and contains nearly one acre of ground. This elevated circular work, with raised walks to ascend and descend to and from its elevated area, was not used as a cemetery. Not far from it, however, there is one, near *m*, which is a conical mound of earth, brought to a point at its apex, at least twentyfive feet high, filled with the mouldering ashes of the people who constructed these works. In a northwestern direction is a similar one, just begun. It is surrounded by a ditch about six feet deep, with a hole in the centre of this circular work, which is represented by *c*. Two other wells, o, o, are now ten or twelve feet in depth, and appear to me to have been dug for water, and are similar to the one already described. Near these, at *d*, is a wall of earth, raised so high, that a spectator standing on its summit, may have a full view of whatever is transacting on the works 1, 2, 3, 4. This last work is easily ascended at each end.

From these extensive works on this "High Place," are two parallel walls of earth, leading to the margin of the Ohio, which are about two miles in length. They are from six to ten feet high. They are lost in the low ground near the river, which appears to have moved from them since they were constructed. Between these walls and the Ohio, is as fine a body of interval land as any along the valley of this beautiful stream; quite sufficient, if well cultivated, to support a considerable population. The surface of the earth, between all the parallel walls, is quite smooth, and appears to have been made so by art, and was used as a

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road, by those coming down either of the rivers, for the purpose of ascending to the "High Place," situated upon the hill. The walls might have served as fences also, to enclose the interval, which was probably cultivated.

On the low land I saw but one mound, *m*. 2. and that is a cemetery, but is not very large, and it appears to have belonged to the common people, probably those who resided near it on the plain.

Ancient Works *on the* LITTLE MIAMI RIVER.

These works have been much noticed by those who have travelled on the road which crosses them; and several partial accounts of them have already been published. But as some farther notice of these extraordinary remains of Antiquity may be here expected, the accompanying drawing and description are given.

Explanation *of the* Plate.

The fortification stands on a plain, nearly horizontal, about 236 feet above the level of the river, between two branches with very steep and deep banks. The openings in the walls are the gateways. The plain extends eastward along the state road, nearly level, about half a mile. The fortification on all sides, except on the east and west where the road runs, is surrounded with precipices nearly in the shape of the wall. The wall on the inside varies in its height, according to the shape of the ground on

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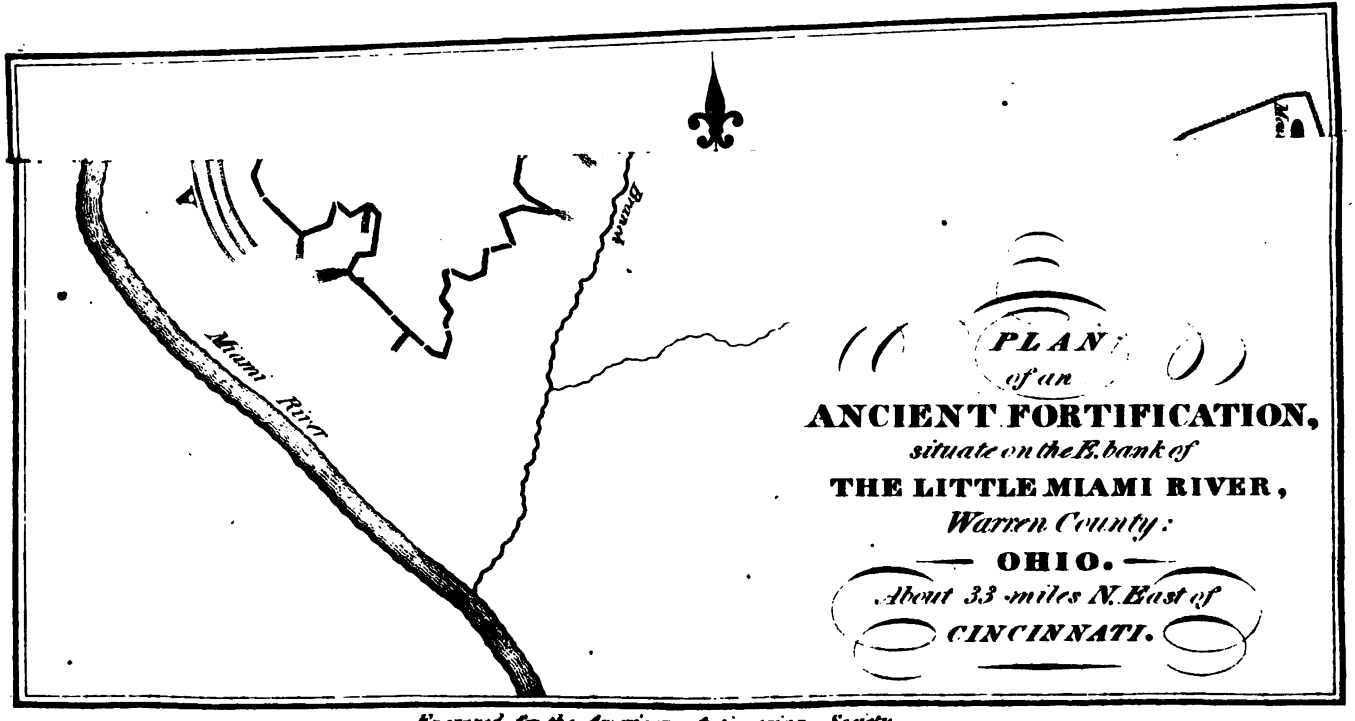

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the outside, being generally from eight to ten feet. But on the plain it is about nineteen and an half feet high inside and out, on a base of four and a half poles. In a few places it appears to be washed away in gutters, made by water collecting on the inside.

At about twenty poles east from the gate, through which the state road runs, are two mounds, about ten feet eight inches high, the road running between them nearly equidistant from each. From these mounds are gutters running nearly north and south, that appear to be artificial, and made to communicate with the branches on each side. Northeast from the mounds, on the plain, are two roads, *B.* each about one pole wide, elevated about three feet, and which run nearly parallel, about one fourth of a mile, and then form an irregular semicircle round a small mound. Near the southwest end of the fortification are three circular roads, *A.* between thirty and forty poles in length, cut out of the precipice between the wall and the river. The wall is made of earth.

Many conjectures have been made as to the design of the authors in erecting a work with no less than 58 gateways. Several of these openings have evidently been occasioned by the water, which had been collected on the inside until it overflowed the walls, and wore itself a passage. In several other places the walls might never have been completed.

Some have supposed the whole was intended as a work of mere sport in the authors. I have always doubted whether any people of sane minds, would have ever performed quite so much labour in mere

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sport. Probably those openings were neither gateways, nor produced by the action of water, but were from some cause left unfinished.

Some persons, from the shape of these works, have even believed that the authors intended to represent by them the continents of North and South America! But the walls follow exactly the brow of the hill, and the works are built to suit the position of the ground, where it is hilly and precipitous; where it is not so, the walls suddenly rise to a far greater height.

The three parallel roads, *A.* dug at a great expense of labour, into the rocks and rocky soil adjacent and parallel to the Little Miami river, appear to have been designed for persons to stand on, who wished to annoy those who were passing up and down the river. The Indians, as I have been informed, made this use of these roads in their wars with each other and with the whites. Whether these works *all* belong to the same era and the same people, I cannot say, though the general opinion is, that they do. On the whole, I have ventured to class them among "Ancient Fortifications," to which they appear to have higher claims than almost any other, for reasons too apparent to require a recital.

The two parallel lines, *B.* are two roads very similar to modern turnpikes, and are made to suit the nature of the soil and make of the ground. If the roads were for foot races, the mounds were the goals from whence the pedestrians started, or around which they ran. The area which these parallel walls enclose, smoothed by art, might have been the place where games were celebrated. We can-

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not say that these works were designed for such purposes; but we can say, that similar works were thus used among the early inhabitants of Greece and Rome.

Speaking of the works of Antiquity found in the Miami country, Dr. Daniel Drake, an officer of the American Antiquarian Society, in his "Picture of Cincinnati," says, "of excavations we have but one," that is, belonging to the works of that place. "Its depth is about twelve feet. Its diameter, from the top of the circular bank, formed by throwing out the earth, is nearly fifty feet. It has the appearance of a half filled well; but no examination has yet been undertaken."

Dr. Drake proceeds to describe the ancient works where Cincinnati now stands. "The mounds or pyramids found on this plain were four in number. The largest stands directly west of the central enclosure, at the distance of five hundred yards. Its present height is twentyseven feet; and about eight feet were cut off by Gen. Wayne, in 1794, to prepare it for a centinel. It is a regular ellipsis, whose diameters are to each other, nearly as two to one. That which is greatest in length runs seventeen degrees east of north. Its circumference at the base is four hundred and forty feet. The earth, for thirty or forty yards around it, is perceptibly lower than the other parts of the plain, and the stratum of loam is thinner; from which it appears to have been formed by scooping up the surface; which opinion is confirmed by its internal structure. It has been penetrated nearly to its centre, and found to consist of loam, gradually passing into soil, with rotten

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wood. The fruits of this examination were only a few scattered and decayed human bones, a branch of a deer's horn, and a piece of earthen ware containing muscle shells. At the distance of five hundred feet from this pyramid, in the direction of north 8° east, there is another about nine feet high, of a circular figure, and nearly flat on the top. This has been penetrated to the centre of its base, without affording any thing but some fragments of human skeletons, and a handful of copper beads which had been strung on a cord of lint. The mound at the intersection of Third and Main streets has attracted most attention, and is the only one that had any connexion with the lines which have been described. It was eight feet high, one hundred and twenty long, and sixty broad, of an oval figure, with its diameters lying nearly in the direction of the cardinal points. It has been almost obliterated by the graduation of Main street, and its construction is therefore well known. Whatever it contained was deposited at a small distance beneath the stratum of loam which is common to the town.—The first artificial layer was of gravel, considerably raised in the middle; the next, composed of large pebbles, was convex and of an uniform thickness; the last consisted of loam and soil. These strata were entire, and must have been formed after the deposits in the tumulus were completed. Of the articles taken from thence, many have been lost; but the following catalogue embraces the most worthy of notice.

1. Pieces of jasper, rock crystal, granite, and some other stones, cylindrical at the extremes, and

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swelled in the middle, with an annular groove near one end.

2. A circular piece of canal coal with a large opening in the centre, as if for an axis, and a deep groove; the circumference, suitable for a hand. It has a number of small perforations disposed in four equidistant lines, which run from the circumference towards the centre.

3. A smaller article of the same shape, with eight lines of perforations; but composed of argillaceous earth, well polished.

4. A bone, ornamented with several carved lines, supposed to be hieroglyphical.

5. A sculptural representation of the head and beak of a rapacious bird, perhaps an eagle.

6. A mass of lead ore, (galena) lumps of which have been found in other tumuli.

7. A quantity of isinglass, (mica membranacea) plates of which have been discovered in, and about other mounds.

8. A small oval piece of sheet copper, with two perforations.

9. A larger oblong piece of the same metal, with longitudinal grooves and ridges.

These articles are described in the fourth and fifth volumes of the American Philosophical Transactions by Governour Sargent and Judge Turner; and were supposed by Professor Barton to have been designed in part for ornament, and in part for superstitious ceremonies. In addition to which, the author says, he has since discovered in the same mound,

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10. A number of beads, or sections of small hollow cylinders, apparently of bone or shell.

11. The teeth of a carniverous animal, probably those of a bear.

12. Several large marine shells, belonging perhaps to the genus buccinum, cut in such a manner as to serve for domestick utensils, and nearly converted into a state of chalk.

13. Several copper articles, each consisting of two sets of circular concavo convex plates; the interiour one of each set connected with the other by a hollow axis, around which had been wound some lint; the whole encompassed by the bones of a man's hand. Several other articles resembling these have been found in other parts of the town. They all appear to consist of pure copper, covered with the green carbonate of that metal. After removing this incrustation of rust from two pieces, their specifick gravities were found to be 7. 545 and 7. 857. Their hardness is about that of the sheet copper of commerce. They are not engraven or embellished with characters of any kind.

14. Human bones. These were of different sizes; sometimes enclosed in rude stone coffins, but oftener lying blended with the earth; generally surrounded by a portion of ashes and charcoal.*"

In this whole tumulus, the author says, there were not discovered more than twenty or thirty skeletons.

The other ancient works mentioned by Dr. Drake, have not, to my knowledge, been actually

* Drake's Picture of Cincinnati, p. 204, &c.

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surveyed. If they have been, I have not seen any diagram sketches of them; a few remarks, therefore, on this subject may suffice.

Few or none of them appear to me to have been forts, indeed I have never seen one on the Great Miami, which seemed to me to deserve that appellation. Their being situated on a hill is by no means a certain indication that they were forts, or that they were ever military works, when it is recollected that most, if not all, the places of religious worship in Greece, Rome, Judea, &c. were on high hills, and are denominated "High Places" among the Jews. I have seen several small mounds of earth in the Miami country, and some small works, but the people who raised such works on the waters of the larger rivers of this state were not numerous; and, comparatively speaking, these works are few in number and small in size. Their authors seem to have preferred the beautiful plains and fertile hills of the slow winding Scioto, to the low marshy interval of the Miami. Those who wish for further remarks on the few works situated in the Miami country, are referred to Dr. Drake's "*Picture of Cincinnati.*" He seems to think that the traces of ancient works on the interval lands in the Miami country, are where these people had towns, which appears to me highly probable. These traces of ancient settlement being few, we may conclude that their authors were also few.

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ANCIENT TUMULI.

There is another species of ancient works in this country which deserves our notice. They are conical mounds, either of earth or stones, which were intended for many sacred and important purposes. In many parts of the world similar mounds were used as monuments, sepulchres, altars, and temples.

The accounts of these works, found in the scriptures, show that their origin must be sought for among the Antideluvians. That they are very ancient, were used as places of sepulture, publick resort and publick worship, is proved by all the writers of ancient times, both sacred and profane. Homer frequently mentions them. He particularly describes the tumulus of Tytyus and the spot where it was. In memory of the illustrious dead, a sepulchral mound of earth was raised over their remains; which from that time forward became an altar, whereon to offer sacrifices, and around which, to exhibit games of athletick exercise. These offerings and games were intended to propitiate their manes, to honour and perpetuate their memories.

Prudentius, a Roman bard, has told us, that there were in ancient Rome just as many temples of gods as there were sepulchres of heroes; implying that they were the *same*.* Need I mention the tomb of Anchises, which Virgil has described, with the offerings there presented, and the games there exhibited? The sanctity of Acropolis where Cecrops

* "Et tot templa Deum, quot in urba sepulchra,
Heroum numerare licit." Prudentius, liber i.

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was inhumed? The tomb of the father of Adonis, at Paphos, whereon a temple dedicated to Venus was erected? The grave of Cleomachus, whereon stood a temple dedicated to the worship of Apollo? Finally, I would ask the classical reader if the words translated TOMB and TEMPLE, are not used as synonymous, by the poets of Greece and Rome? Virgil, who wrote in the days of Augustus, speaks of these tumuli as being as ancient as they were sacred, even in his time. Who has forgotten those lines, the reading of which gave him so much pleasure in the days of his childhood?

——Tumulum antiquæ Cereris, sedamque sacratam,
Venimus——. Æn. lib. ii. v. 742.

In the first ages of the world, reason teaches us to believe, that the government of mankind was patriarchal; and the scriptures inform us that it was so. In infancy and childhood we naturally look up to our parents for support and education. The debt of gratitude increases until the beloved object of our filial affection is no more. Then all the endearments, of which we were the objects, through all our helpless years, present themselves to our view, and we anxiously seek, by some monument, to perpetuate the memory of those to whose kind care we are so greatly indebted. By what better means, could such an object be effected by a people unacquainted with the use of letters? What more lasting monument of filial respect could have been raised by a people thus situated? How simple, and yet how sublime? and calculated to endure while the world itself shall continue, unless destroyed by the sacrilegious hand of man.

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A conical tumulus was reared, games were instituted, and certain offerings presented on stated anniversaries. In later times, after warriours arose, and performed great and mighty deeds, the whole tribe or nation joined to raise on some high place, generally, a lofty tumulus. At first, sacrifices might have been, and probably were, offered on these tumuli, to the true God, as the great author and giver of life; but in later times they forgot Him, and worshipped the manes of the heroes they had buried there.

The conical *mounds* in Ohio are either of stones or of earth. The former, in other countries and in former ages, were intended as MONUMENTS, for the purpose of perpetuating the memory of some important event; or as ALTARS, whereon to offer sacrifices. The latter were used as cemeteries and as altars, whereon, in later times, temples were erected among the people of Greece and Rome. Their existence and uses may be learned, by consulting the ancient writers, both sacred and profane.

In the scriptures we are informed, that Jacob erected a pillar of stones in order to perpetuate the recollection of a remarkable dream which he had, where he reposed, when journeying to visit Laban. A pile of stones was raised on the spot, where many years afterwards he parted with his brother Esau. This mound was to be a limit, which neither of them should in future pass without being considered as a trespasser on the other. When the Israelites crossed the Jordan, the priests raised a pile of stones, which were brought from the bed of that

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river. The reasons are assigned by the several historians which the reader can see at his leisure.

Gilgal was a heap of stones, where the Israelites encamped the first night after they crossed the Jordan. If the reader will consult a correct map of Palestine, he will see that Shiloh, Bethel, Jerusalem, &c. where the Jews assembled at various periods of their history, for publick worship, were all of them situated upon high hills.

Description *of the* Mounds, *or* Tumuli, *of* Earth.

They are of various altitudes and dimensions, some being only four or five feet in height, and ten or twelve feet in diameter at their base, whilst others, as we travel to the south, rise to the height of eighty and ninety feet, and cover many acres of ground.

They are generally, where completed, in the form of a cone. Those in the north part of Ohio are inferiour in size, and fewer in number, than those along the river. These mounds are believed to exist from the Rocky Mountains in the west, to the Alleghanies in the east; from the southern shore of lake Erie to the Mexican Gulph, and though few and small in the north, numerous and lofty in the south, yet exhibit proofs of a common origin.

I shall begin with the tumuli on the Muskingum, which are not very numerous, nor comparatively interesting, until we descend to Morgan county, where are some on the head waters of Jonathan's Creek, whose basis are formed of well burnt

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bricks, between four and five inches square.— There were found lying on the bricks charcoal, cinders, and pieces of calcined human bones.— Above them, the mound was composed of earth, showing that the dead had been burned in the manner of several eastern nations, and the mound raised afterwards.

Descending the Muskingum to its mouth, we arrive at the celebrated works at Marietta, already noticed, but not fully described. It is with great pleasure, that here I avail myself of a communication from Dr. S. P. Hildreth, of Marietta.

"MARIETTA, JULY 19, 1819.

"In removing the earth which composed an ancient mound in one of the streets of Marietta, on the margin of the plain, near the fortifications, several curious articles were discovered the latter part of June last. They appear to have been buried with the body of the person to whose memory this mound was erected.

"Lying immediately over, or on the forehead of the body, were found three large circular bosses, or ornaments for a sword belt, or a buckler; they are composed of copper, overlaid with a thick plate of silver. The fronts of them are slightly convex, with a depression, like a cup, in the centre, and measure two inches and a quarter across the face of each. On the back side, opposite the depressed portion, is a copper rivet or nail, around which are two separate plates, by which they were fastened to the leather. Two small pieces of the leather were found lying between the plates of one of the bosses;

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they resemble the skin of an old mummy, and seem to have been preserved by the salts of the copper. The plates of copper are nearly reduced to an oxyde, or rust. The silver looks quite black, but is not much corroded, and on rubbing, it becomes quite brilliant. Two of these are yet entire; the third one is so much wasted, that it dropped in pieces on removing it from the earth. Around the rivet of one of them is a small quantity of flax or hemp, in a tolerable state of preservation. Near the side of the body was found a plate of silver which appears to have been the upper part of a sword scabbard; it is six inches in length and two inches in breadth, and weighs one ounce; it has no ornaments or figures, but has three longitudinal ridges, which probably correspond with edges, or ridges, of the sword; it seems to have been fastened to the scabbard by three or four rivets, the holes of which yet remain in the silver.

"Two or three broken pieces of a copper tube, were also found, filled with iron rust. These pieces, from their appearance, composed the lower end of the scabbard, near the point of the sword. No sign of the sword itself was discovered, except the appearance of rust above mentioned.

"Near the feet, was found a piece of copper, weighing three ounces. From its shape it appears to have been used as a plumb, or for an ornament, as near one of the ends is a circular crease, or groove, for tying a thread; it is round, two inches and a half in length, one inch in diameter at the centre, and half an inch at each end. It is composed of small

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pieces of native copper, pounded together; and in the cracks between the pieces, are stuck several pieces of silver; one nearly the size of a four penny piece, or half a dime. This copper ornament was covered with a coat of green rust, and is considerably corroded. A piece of red ochre, or paint, and a piece of iron ore, which has the appearance of having been partially vitrified, or melted, were also found. The ore is about the specifick gravity of pure iron.

"The body of the person here buried, was laid on the surface of the earth, with his face upwards, and his feet pointing to the northeast, and head to the southwest. From the appearance of several pieces of charcoal, and bits of partially burnt fossil coal, and the black colour of the earth, it would seem that the funeral obsequies had been celebrated by fire; and while the ashes were yet hot and smoking, a circle of thin flat stones had been laid around and over the body. The circular covering is about eight feet in diameter, and the stones yet look black, as if stained by fire and smoke. This circle of stones seems to have been the nucleus on which the mound was formed, as immediately over them is heaped the common earth of the adjacent plain, composed of a clayey sand and coarse gravel. This mound must originally have been about ten feet high, and thirty feet in diameter at its base. At the time of opening it, the height was six feet, and diameter between thirty and forty. It has every appearance of being as old as any in the neighbourhood, and was, at the first settlement of Marietta, covered with large trees, the remains of whose roots

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were yet apparent in digging away the earth. It also seems to have been made for this single personage, as the remains of one skeleton only were discovered. The bones were much decayed, and many of them crumbled to dust on exposure to the air. From the length of some of them, it is supposed the person was about six feet in height.

"Nothing unusual was discovered in their form, except that those of the skull were uncommonly thick. The situation of the mound on high ground, near the margin of the plain, and the porous quality of the earth, are admirably calculated to preserve any perishable substance from the certain decay which would attend it in many other situations. To these circumstances, is attributed the tolerable state of preservation in which several of the articles above described were found, after laying in the earth for several centuries. We say *centuries*, from the fact that trees were found growing on those ancient works, whose ages were ascertained to amount to between four and five hundred years each, by counting the concentrick circles in the stumps after the trees were cut down; and on the ground, besides them, were other trees in a state of decay, that appeared to have fallen from old age. Of what language, or of what nation were this mighty race, that once inhabited the territory watered by the Ohio, remains yet a mystery, too great for the most learned to unravel.

"But from what we see of their *works*, they must have had *some* acquaintance with the arts and sciences. They have left us *perfect* specimens of circles, squares, octagons, and parallel lines, on a

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grand and noble scale. And unless it can be proved that they had intercourse with Asia or Europe, we now see that they possessed the art of working in metals."

[The above described articles are in the possession of Doctor Hildreth, and can be seen by any one desirous of viewing them.]

[The drawings of some of the articles found in the mound at Marietta, Ohio, June 1, 1819, described by Dr. Hildreth, are on the opposite page.

Figure 1. Back view of the silver ornament for a sword scabbard.—2. Front view of the same.—3. Front view of an ornament for a belt; silver face.—4. Back view of the same; of copper.—5. A copper plumb or pendent, with bits of silver in the fissures.—6. A stone with seven holes, like a screw plate, fourteen inches long, finely polished and very hard; this last was found in a field, back of the great mound.]

To this account I have only to add, that I have carefully examined the articles above described, and the spot where they were found, and that the description is a correct one. The accompanying drawings, made by Dr. Hildreth, are also correct. This mound was opened under the direction of his Excellency R. J. Meigs, jr. who intends soon to open the large mound at the same place.

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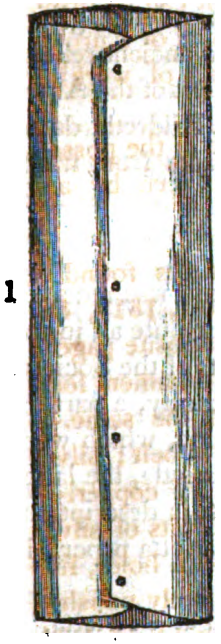
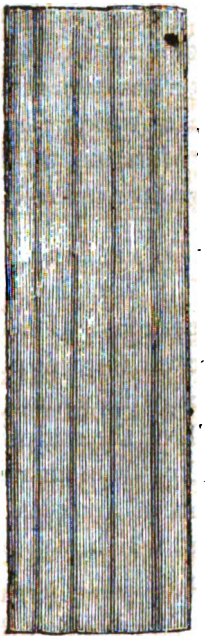
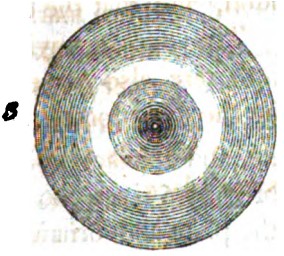
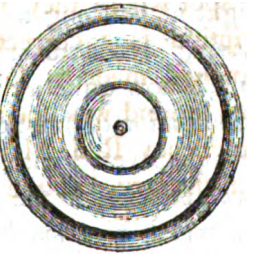




Figures 1, 2, 3 and 4, are a little less than two thirds as large; and 5 is two thirds as large, in length and breadth, as the articles they represent.





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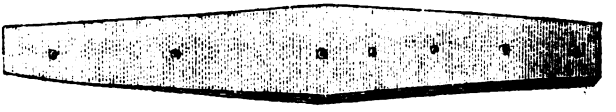

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[Since the foregoing was written, a letter, giving some further information relating to ancient relicks, &c. has been received by the President of the American Antiquarian Society, from Dr. Hildreth, dated, "Marietta, 3d Nov. 1819," extracts from which are here inserted.]

"Dear Sir,

"Your favour of the 19th ultimo was received yesterday. I shall be happy to contribute all in my power towards promoting the objects of the Society, and will forward, by the first opportunity, a part, or all, of the curiosities in my possession, which were taken from an ancient mound in Marietta, the latter part of June last; of which I wrote a description, and which was published in the Marietta paper, in July.*

"In addition to the articles found at Marietta, I have procured, from a mound on the Little Muskingum, about four miles from Marietta, some pieces of copper, which appear to have been the front part of a helmet. It was originally about eight inches long and four broad, and has marks of having been attached to leather; it is much decayed, and is now quite a thin plate. A copper ornament in imitation of those described, as found in Marietta, was discovered with the plate, and appears to have been attached to the centre of it by a rivet, the hole for which remains both in the plate and ornament. At this place the remains of a skeleton were found. No part of it retained its form, but a portion of the

* This description is the same as that just given, which was communicated to C. Atwater, Esq.

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forehead and skull, which lay under the plate of copper. These bones are deeply tinged with green, and appear to have been preserved by the salts of the copper.

"The mound in which these relicks were found, is about the magnitude of the one in Marietta, and has every appearance of being as ancient. I have in my possession some pieces of ancient potters' ware, found within the ancient works at Marietta. They are, some of them, neatly wrought, and composed of pounded flint stone and clay. They are yet quite solid and firm, although they have lain for several years, exposed to rain and frost, on the surface of the ground.

"We often find pieces of broken ware, near the banks of the river, and in the bottoms; but they are composed of clay and pounded clam shells; are much less compact and firm, and do not appear to have been burnt. They are evidently of the same composition with those made by the modern Indians.

"Some time in the course of this month, we propose opening several mounds in this place; and if any thing is discovered, which will throw light on the subject of the "*Ancients of the West*," it shall be communicated to your Society, with a portion or all of the articles found. It seems to be a well established fact, that the bodies of nearly all those buried in mounds, were partially, if not entirely, consumed by fire, before the mounds were built. This is made to appear, by quantities of charcoal being found at the centre and base of the mounds; stones burned and blackened, and marks of fire on the me-

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tallick substances buried with them. It is a matter of much regret that on no one of the articles yet found, has been discovered any letters, characters, or hieroglyphicks, which would point to what nation or age these people belonged. I have been told by an eye witness, that a few years ago, near Blacksburgh in Virginia, eighty miles from Marietta, there was found about half of a *steel bow*, which, when entire, would measure five or six feet; the other part was corroded or broken. The father of the man who found it was a blacksmith, and worked up this curious article, I suppose, with as little remorse as he would an old gunbarrel. Mounds are very frequent in that neighbourhood, and many curious articles of Antiquity have been found there.

"I have also been told from good authority, that an ornament, composed of very pure *gold*, something similar to those found here, was discovered a few years since in Ross county, near Chillicothe, lying in the palm of a skeleton's hand, in a small mound. This curiosity, I am told, is in the Museum at Philadelphia."

The tumuli, in what is called the Scioto country, are both numerous and interesting. But south of lake Erie, until we arrive at Worthington, nine miles north of Columbus, they are few in number, and of small comparative magnitude. At the former place are some large ones; but I have made no survey of them, nor was it deemed important, as they so exactly resemble others which will be described.

Near Columbus the seat of government, were several mounds, one of which stood on an eminence

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in the principal street. It has been entirely removed, and converted into brick. It contained many human bones, some few articles, among which was an owl carved in stone, a rude, but very exact representation. In another part of the town was a tumulus of clay, which was also manufactured into bricks. In this were many human bones; but it was not, it would seem, their original place of deposit, as they lay in piles and in confusion.

As we still descend the Scioto, through a most fertile region of country, mounds and other ancient works frequently appear, until we arrive at Circleville, twentysix miles south of Columbus, where are to be seen some of the most interesting Antiquities any where to be found.

The works have been noticed, but the mounds remain to be described. Of these there were several which the ruthless hand of man is destroying. Near the centre of the round fort, a drawing of which is given in this work, was a tumulus of earth, about ten feet in height, and several rods in diameter at its base. On its eastern side, and extending six rods from it, was a semicircular pavement, composed of pebbles, such as are now found in the bed of the Scioto river, from whence they appear to have been brought.

The summit of this tumulus was nearly thirty feet in diameter, and there was a raised way to it, leading from the east, like a modern turnpike. The summit was level. The outline of the semicircular pavement and the walk is still discernible.—The earth composing this mound was entirely re-

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moved several years since. The writer was present at its removal, and carefully examined the contents. It contained,

1. Two human skeletons, lying on what had been the original surface of the earth.

2. A great quantity of arrow heads, some of which were so large, as to induce a belief that they were used for spear heads.

3. The handle either of a small sword or a large knife, made of an elk's horn; around the end where the blade had been inserted, was a ferule of silver, which, though black, was not much injured by time. Though the handle showed the hole where the blade had been inserted, yet no iron was found, but an oxyde remained of similar shape and size.

4. Charcoal and wood ashes, on which these articles lay, which were surrounded by several bricks very well burnt. The skeleton appeared to have been burned in a large and very hot fire, which had almost consumed the bones of the deceased. This skeleton was deposited a little to the south of the centre of the tumulus; and, about twenty feet to the north of it, was another, with which were

5. A large mirrour, about three feet in length, one foot and a half in breadth, and one inch and a half in thickness. This mirrour was of isinglass, (mica membranacea) and on it,

6. A plate of iron, which had become an oxyde; but before it was disturbed by the spade, resembled a plate of cast iron. The mirrour answered the purpose very well for which it was intended. This skeleton had also been burned like the former, and lay on charcoal and a considerable quantity of wood

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ashes. A part of the mirrour is in my possession as well as a piece of a brick, taken from the spot at the time.

The knife, or sword handle, was sent to Mr. Peal's Museum, at Philadelphia.

To the southwest of this tumulus, about forty rods from it, is another, more than ninety feet in height, which is shown on the plate representing these works. It stands on a large hill, which appears to be artificial. This must have been the common cemetery, as it contains an immense number of human skeletons, of all sizes and ages.

The skeletons are laid horizontally, with their heads generally towards the centre, and the feet towards the outside of the tumulus. A considerable part of this work still stands uninjured, except by time. In it have been found, besides these skeletons, stone axes and knives, and several ornaments, with holes through them, by means of which, with a cord passing through these perforations, they could be worn by their owners.

On the south side of this tumulus, and not far from it, was a semicircular fosse, which, when I first saw it, was six feet deep. On opening it, was discovered at the bottom a great quantity of human bones, which, I am inclined to believe, were the remains of those who had been slain in some great and destructive battle. First, because they belonged to persons who had attained their full size; whereas, in the mound adjoining, were found the skeletons of persons of all ages; and secondly, they were here in the utmost confusion, as if buried in a hurry. May we not conjecture, that they belonged to the people

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who resided in the town, and who were victorious in the engagement? otherwise they would not have been thus honourably buried in the common cemetery.

The articles discovered in this mound, are of little value, though very numerous; something being found near the head of almost every individual.

In another mound, about a mile distant from this, was found a tool, almost exactly resembling one now in use among shoemakers, of which the following is a drawing, one half, each way, of the size of the utensil.

Descending the Scioto, mounds situated generally upon high hills, with a fair prospect towards the east, are frequently seen, until we arrive at Chillicothe, eighteen miles below Circleville.—Here, and in the immediate vicinity, were once several very interesting ones; but they are mostly demolished. Why were these wantonly destroyed? "They were rude." Were they not venerable on account of their high antiquity and simplicity? Are the modern Turks and Arabs, who trample on the busts of ancient heroes, the moss grown and prostrate columns of ancient temples, baths, palaces and theatres, the only barbarians? "But those who buried in tumuli, worshipped the manes of the heroes there deposited." And were not the Greeks and Romans also idolaters? And, have not all the civilized nations of Europe joined in condemning those

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who wantonly violate the sacred repositories of the dead, in those countries where the arts once flourished? It is true that the citizens of the ancient republicks enjoyed not the Christian religion; that commerce, and even agriculture, had made no great progress among them. To defend their country, and extend their conquests, were the great objects which they constantly kept in view. Soldiers became heroes; and these, after death, were exalted to gods. The love of military glory was constantly connected with the love of country. Having but few objects of pursuit, their passions were more intensely fixed on these. All nations but their own were considered as barbarians, and treated as such. They put to the sword, or sold as slaves, their prisoners of war. But what makes us to differ from them, unless it be an acquaintance with Christianity?

The Rev. Robert G. Wilson, D. D. of Chillicothe, a receiving officer of the American Antiquarian Society, has furnished me with authentick information concerning the mound, which once stood near the centre of the town. He took pains to write down every thing concerning its contents, at the time of its demolition. Its perpendicular height was about fifteen feet, and the diameter of its base about sixty. It was composed of sand, and contained human bones, belonging to skeletons which were buried in different parts of it. It was not until this pile of earth was removed, and the original surface exposed to view, that a probable conjecture of its original design could be formed. About twenty feet square of the surface had been levelled, and

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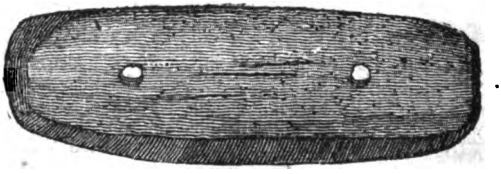
covered with bark. On the centre of this, lay a human skeleton, over which had been spread a mat, manufactured either from weeds or bark. On the breast lay what had been a piece of copper, in the form of a cross, which had now become verdigrise. On the breast also, lay a stone ornament with two perforations, one near each end, through which passed a string, by means of which it was suspended around the wearer's neck. On this string, which was made of sinews, and very much injured by time, were placed a great many beads, made of ivory or bone; for I cannot certainly say which. With these facts before us, we are left to conjecture at what time this individual lived; what were his heroick achievements in the field of battle; his wisdom and eloquence in the councils of his nation. But his cotemporaries have testified in a manner not to be mistaken, that among them, he was held in grateful remembrance.

The following is a correct drawing of the stone ornament, and saves me the trouble of a description of it. It is one half of the size of the stone in length and breadth.



There are some very interesting works of Antiquity not far from Chillicothe, on the north fork of Paint Creek, a drawing of which is given in this volume.

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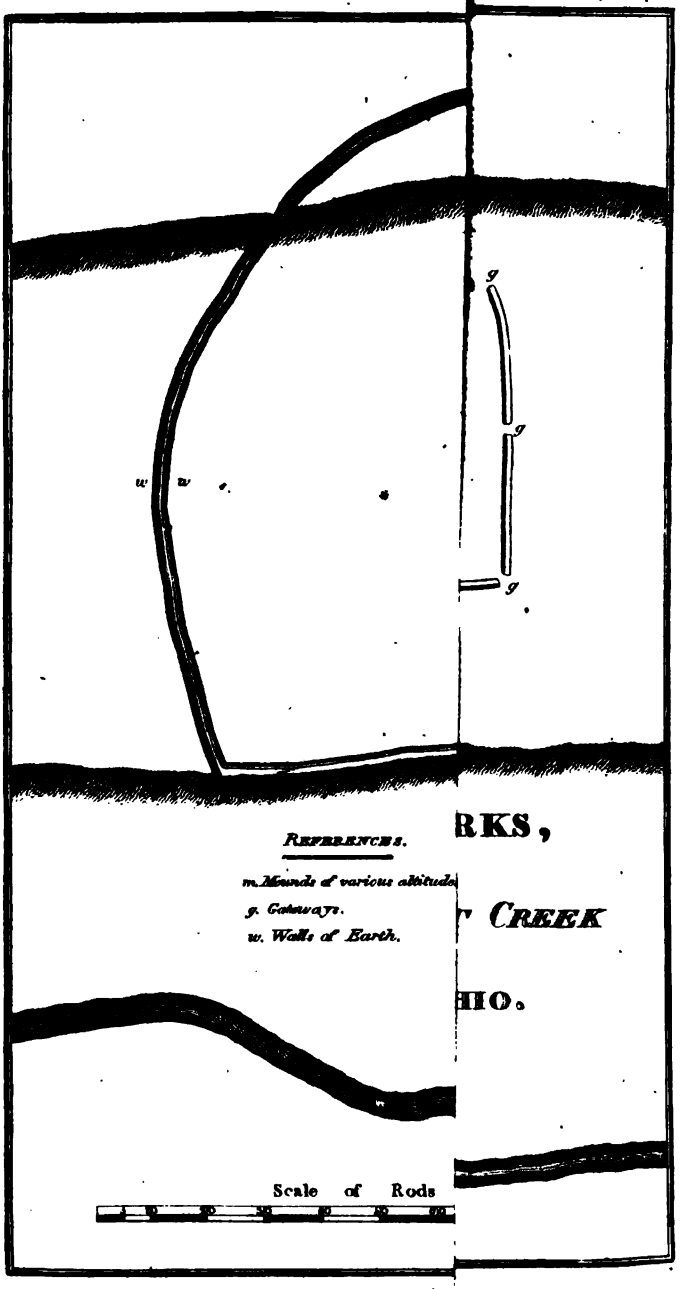

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Five miles and a half from Chillicothe, on the above mentioned stream, these works are situated on a beautiful piece of what we call second bottom. The area of the largest enclosure contains about one hundred and ten acres. On the northeast and west side of it, is a wall, with an intrenchment or ditch on its outside. It is generally twelve feet from the bottom to the summit of the wall, which is of earth. The ditch is about twenty feet wide, and the base of the wall the same. There is no ditch on the side next the river. The small work, on the east side, contains sixteen acres, and the walls are like those of the larger work, but there is no ditch. The largest circular work, which consists of a wall and ditch like those already described, is a sacred enclosure, including within it six mounds, which have been used as cemeteries. By examining the drawing and measuring them by the annexed scale, a correct idea of their dimensions may be easily obtained. The same observation applies to the gateways in the outer wall.*

The land on which these works are situated belongs to Mr. Ashley and Col. Evans, of Ross county.

The immense labour, and the numerous cemeteries filled with human bones, denote a vast population near this spot in ancient times.

* See the plan of the ancient works on the north fork of Paint Creek, opposite page 145.

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Mounds of Stone.

Two such mounds have been described already in the county of Perry. Others have been found in various parts of the country. There is one, at least, in the vicinity of Licking river, not many miles from Newark. There is another on a branch of Hargus's Creek, a few miles to the northeast of Circleville. There were several not very far from the town of Chillicothe.

If these mounds were sometimes used as cemeteries of distinguished persons, they were also used as monuments, with a view of perpetuating the recollection of some great transaction or event. In the former, not more, generally, than one or two skeletons are found; in the latter, none. These works are like those of earth, in form of a cone, composed of small stones, on which no marks of tools were visible. In them, some of the most interesting articles are found, such as urns, ornaments of copper, heads of spears, &c. of the same metal, as well as medals of copper, and pickaxes of hornblend; several drawings of which may be seen in this volume.

Works of this class, compared with those of earth, are few; and they are none of them as large as the mounds at Grave Creek, in the town of Circleville, which belong to the first class. I saw one of these stone tumuli which had been piled on the surface of the earth, on the spot where three skeletons had been buried in stone coffins, beneath the surface. It was situated on the western edge of the

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hill on which the "walled town" stood on Paint Creek. The graves appear to have been dug to about the depth of ours in the present times. After the bottoms and sides were lined with thin flat stones, the corpses were placed in these graves, in an eastern and western direction, and large flat stones were laid over the graves; then the earth, which had been dug out of the graves, was thrown over them. A huge pile of stones was placed over the whole. It is quite probable, however, that this was a work of our present race of Indians. Such graves are more common in Kentucky than Ohio.

No article, except the skeletons, was found in these graves; and the skeletons resembled, very much, the present race of Indians.

Mounds *beyond the Limits of the State of Ohio.*

These tumuli are very common on the river Ohio, from its utmost sources to its mouth. Few and small, comparatively, they are found on the waters of the Monongahela; but increase in number and size, as we descend towards the mouth of that stream, at Pittsburgh. Then rapidly increasing in number, they are of the largest dimensions at Grave Creek, below Wheeling. For an able and interesting account of those last mentioned, I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Doddridge, of Brooke county, Virginia. An extract from his communication follows, dated,

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"WELLSBURGH, VA. MAY 27, 1819.

"DEAR SIR,

"As to your inquiry concerning the ancient works at Grave Creek, below Wheeling, I will give you the best account which I can. Grave Creek flat is about eleven miles below Wheeling. It is about two miles square, consisting, for the most part, of second bottom, the most ancient alluvion; about the middle of it, little Grave Creek puts into the Ohio, and Great Grave creek, at the lower end of this flat. Between these creeks stand the ancient works, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile from the Ohio.

"The 'fortifications,' as they are called, are not remarkable ones, though a number of small mounds stand among them. In one of the tumuli, which was opened about twenty years since, sixty copper beads were found. Of these, I procured ten, and sent them to the Museum in Philadelphia. They were made of a coarse wire, which appeared to have been hammered out and not drawn, and were cut off at unequal lengths. They were soldered together in an awkward manner, the centre of some of them uniting with the edges of others. They were incrusted with verdigrise, but the inside of them was pure copper. This fact shows that the ancient inhabitants were not wholly unacquainted with the use of metals.

"The 'Big Grave,' as it is called, stands about half way between the two creeks, and about one fourth of a mile from the river. It is certainly one of the most august monuments of remote Antiquity

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any where to be found. Its circumference at the base, is three hundred yards; its diameter, of course, one hundred. Its altitude, from measurement, is ninety feet; and its diameter, at the summit, is forty-five feet. The centre, at the summit, appears to have sunk several feet,* so as to form a small kind of amphitheatre. The rim enclosing this amphitheatre, is seven or eight feet in thickness. On the south side, in its edge, stands a large beach tree, whose bark is marked with the initials of a great number of visitants.

"This lofty and venerable tumulus has been so far opened, as to ascertain that it contains many thousands of human skeletons, but no farther. The proprietor of the ground, Mr. Joseph Tomlinson, will not suffer its demolition in the smallest degree. I, for one, do him honour for his sacred regard for these works of Antiquity. I wish that the inhabitants of Chillicothe and Circleville had acted like Mr. Tomlinson. In that case, the mounds in those towns would have been left standing. They would have been religiously protected, as sacred relicks of remote and unknown Antiquity."

A careful survey of the above mentioned works, would probably show that they were all connected, and formed but parts of a whole, laid out with taste.

Following the river Ohio downwards, the mounds appear on both sides, erected uniformly on the highest alluvions along that stream. Those at Marietta, Portsmouth, and Cincinnati, are noticed else-

*Such a hollow place was always left in tumuli, until they were finished by bringing them to a perfect point. C. A.

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where. Their numbers increase all the way to the Missisippi, on which river they assume the largest size. Not having surveyed them, we shall use the description of Mr. Brackenridge, who has devoted great attention to them. With his discriminating powers of mind the publick are acquainted.

"These tumuli, as well as the fortifications, are to be found at the junction of all the rivers, along the Missisippi, in the most eligible positions for towns, and in the most extensive bodies of fertile land. Their number exceeds, perhaps, three thousand; the smallest not less than twenty feet in height, and one hundred in diameter at the base. Their great number, and the astonishing size of some of them, may be regarded as furnishing, with other circumstances, evidence of their antiquity. I have been sometimes induced to think, that, at the period when these were constructed, there was a population as numerous as that which once animated the borders of the Nile, or of the Euphrates, or of Mexico. The most numerous, as well as the most considerable of these remains, are found precisely in those parts of the country where the traces of a numerous population might be looked for, viz. from the mouth of the Ohio, on the east side of the river, to the Illinois river, and on the west side from the St. Francis to the Missouri. I am perfectly satisfied that cities, similar to those of ancient Mexico, of several hundred thousand souls, have existed in this country."

Nearly opposite St. Louis, there are traces of two such cities, in the distance of five miles. They are situated on the Cahokia, which crosses the Ameri-

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can bottom opposite St. Louis. One of the mounds is eight hundred yards in circumference at the base, (the exact size of the pyramid of Asychis) and one hundred feet in height. Mr. Brackenridge, noticed "a mound at New Madrid of three hundred and fifty feet in diameter at the base." Other large ones are at the following places, viz. at St. Louis, one with two stages, another with three; at the mouth of the Missouri; at the mouth of Cahokia river, in two groups; twenty miles below, two groups also, but the mounds of a smaller size; on the bank of a lake, formerly the bed of the river, at the mouth of Maramеck, St. Genevieve; one near Washington, Missisippi state, of one hundred and fortysix feet in height; at Baton Rouge, and on the bayou Manchac; one of the mounds near the lake is composed chiefly of shells. The inhabitants have taken away great quantities of them for lime.

The mound on Black River, has two stages and a group around. At each of the above places there are groups of mounds, and there was probably once a city. Mr. Brackenridge thinks that the largest city belonging to this people, was situated between the Ohio, Missisippi, Missouri, and Illinois. On the plains between the Arkansaw and St. Francis, there are several very large mounds.

Thus it will be seen, that these remains which were so few and small along the northern lakes, are more and more numerous as we travel in a southwestern direction, until we reach the Missisippi, where they are lofty and magnificent. Those works similar to the Teocalli of Mexico, by the Spaniards called "*Adoratorios*," are not found north of the

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mound at Circleville on the Scioto, or at least, I have seen none of them. They are very common and lofty, it seems, on the Missisippi river. An observing eye can easily mark, in these works, the progress of their authors, from the lakes to the valley of the Missisippi; thence to the Gulph of Mexico, and round it, through Texas, into New Mexico, and into South America; their increased numbers, as they proceeded, are evident; while the articles found in and near these works, show also the progressive improvement of the arts among those who erected them.

Should the patronage bestowed on this work, enable me to pursue my investigations, it is my intention to extend my survey quite down to the Mexican Gulph, and possibly beyond it; and if, through a want of patronage, a period should be put to my labours, yet, it is hoped, that others may be able to complete what, under untoward circumstances, I have begun.

Miscellaneous Remarks on the Uses of the Mounds.

Though they were used as places of sepulture and of worship, yet, Were they not sometimes, in the last resort, used also as places of defence? Solis, who describes the destruction of the Mexicans, and the conquest of their empire by the Spaniards, informs us that the "Teocalli," which were like many of our works, in cases of extreme necessity, appeared like "living hills;"* they were covered

* Brackenridge.

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with warriours. Standing upon their altars and in their temples; upon the tombs of their fathers; defending themselves, their wives, their children, their aged parents, their country, and their gods, they fought with desperation. These mounds being elevated on high grounds, in situations easily defended, Is it not highly probable, that their authors, in cases of the last resort, used them as places of defence?

Some have expressed an opinion, that those which are situated within enclosures, were used as altars, whereon human victims were sacrificed.

Some, who have devoted great attention to our Antiquities, believe that the tumuli in front of the gateways of not a few of the works described, were placed there for idols, similar to the "Janitor gods" of Rome, to stand on. This proposition, which has some plausibility in it, we can neither assent to, nor deny, for want of sufficient data.

PLACES *of* DIVERSION.

By places of Diversion, we mean not those with which mounds are connected; the latter evidently were intended for the celebration of solemn games, instituted in honour of the dead.

The works we speak of under this head, are either round, like the small one, a short distance north of the square fort at Circleville, or they consist of two long parallel roads, resembling, in almost all respects, two turnpike roads. The circular ones, though frequently, nay generally, found in the vicinity of a

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great population in those days, consist of earth, raised but a few feet, by the aid of art, like a modern turnpike road, two rods or more in width, though sometimes less than one, being the highest in the centre, and gradually descending towards the outside. This ground is perfectly smoothed by art. In the centre, the earthhas a gentle and regular rise.

The oblong figure annexed,* is a representation of a great number of similar works, in various parts of this country. There are three such works between Circleville and Chillicothe, through which the present road passes.

If these works were not places of diversion, I cannot surmise for what purpose they were raised by their authors. They were of no use as places of defence. If intended for worship, or the celebration of games, near the tombs of their ancestors or chieftains, Why are they not connected with the mounds, instead of being uniformly placed at a distance from them? The number of such works, in various parts of the country, especially on the Scioto, Ohio, Kenhawa, Big Sandy rivers, &c. is considerable. They are so similar in structure, appearance, and situation, that the inference I draw from these circumstances is, that they were raised for similar purposes. Some persons have not failed to call them "roads;" but if so, Why are they always unconnected with other works? and, Why are they constructed either circular or in two long parallel lines, and these again connected at the ends?

* See the Plate.

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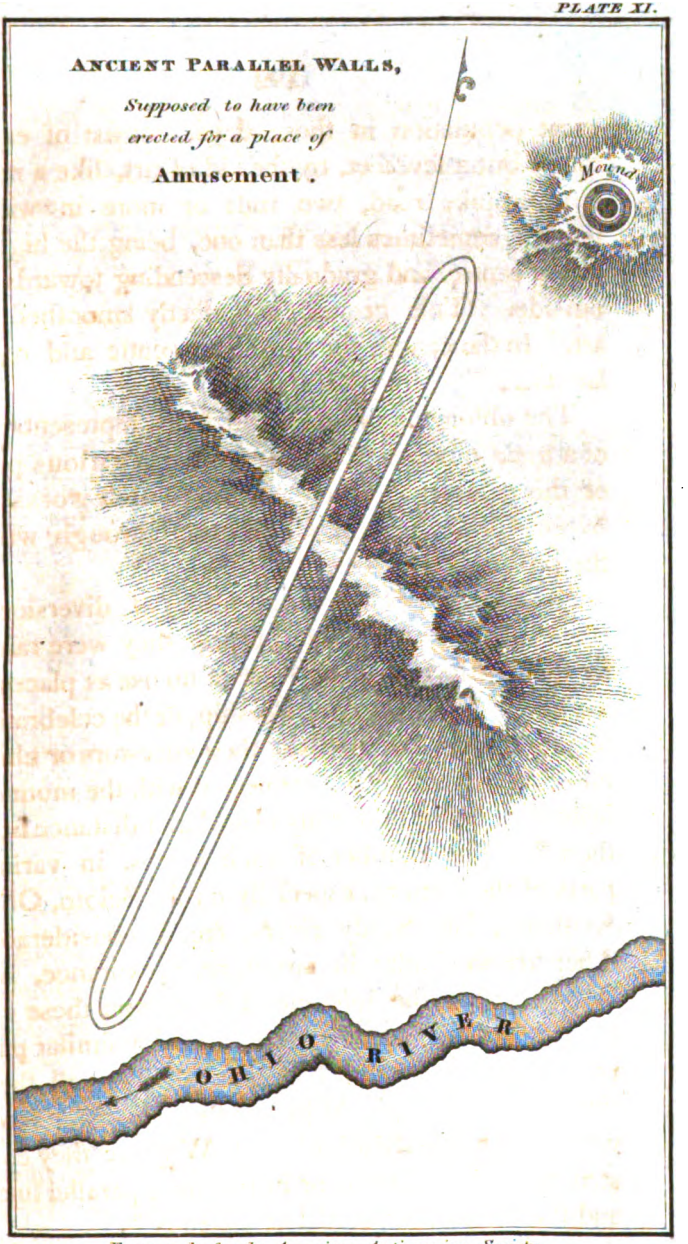

Engraved for the American Antiquarian Society.

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Parallel Walls of Earth.

Besides those above mentioned, there are parallel walls in most places, where other great works are found. Connected with the works on Licking Creek, are very extensive ones, as may be seen by referring to the plate which represents them. They were intended, I think, for purposes of defence, to protect persons who were travelling from one work to another. The two circular ones at Circleville were walls of the round fort. There are many others in various places, intended for similar purposes. But I am by no means sure, that all the walls of this description were intended as defensive; they might have been used as fences in some places, or as elevated and convenient positions, where spectators might have been seated, while some grand procession passed between them.

Near Piketon, on the Scioto, nineteen miles below Chillicothe, are two such parallel walls, which I did not measure, but can say without hesitation that they are now twenty feet high. The road leading down the river to Portsmouth, passes for a considerable distance between these walls. They are so high and so wide at their bases, that the traveller would not, without particular attention, suspect them to be artificial. I followed them the whole distance, and found that they lead in a direction towards three very high mounds, situated on a hill beyond them. It is easy to discover that these

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walls are artificial, if careful attention is bestowed on them.

Between these parallel walls, it is reasonable to suppose processions passed to the ancient place of sepulture; and what tends to confirm this opinion is, that the earth between them appears to have been levelled by art. On both sides of the Scioto, near these works, large intervales of rich land exist; and, from the number and size of the mounds on both sides of this stream, we may conclude that a great population once existed here.

Such walls as these are found in many places along the Ohio, but they generally lead to some lofty mounds situated on an eminence. Sometimes they encircle the mound or mounds, as will be seen by referring to some of the drawings in this volume; others are like those near Piketon. [*See the Plate.*]

CONJECTURES, *respecting the* ORIGIN *and* HISTORY *of the* AUTHORS *of the* ANCIENT WORKS *in* OHIO, &c.

The reader, after having become acquainted with many of our ancient works, naturally inquires, Who were their authors? Whence did they emigrate? At what time did they arrive? How long did they continue to inhabit this country? To what place did they emigrate? and, Where shall we look for their descendants?

These questions have often been asked, within the last thirty years, and as often answered, but not satisfactorily, especially to those who, on all occa-

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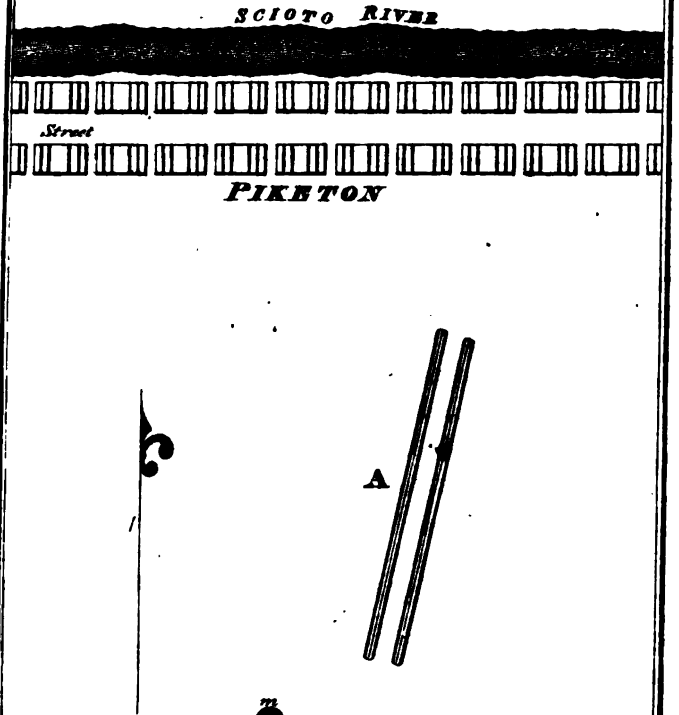
ANCIENT WORKS, near PIKETON; OHIO.



REFERENCES

A. Two parallel walls of Earth four rods apart 20 feet high.
m. Mounds.

Engraved for the American Antiquarian Society.

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sions, require proofs amounting to mathematical certainty. Persons of this class, need not give themselves the useless labour of perusing the remaining part of this memoir. The nature of the subject does not admit of such proof, nor will the liberal and more enlightened portion of my readers require it at my hands. But if absolute certainty be not attainable, it appears to me that a reasonable one is—by obtaining a thorough knowledge of the geology and botany of the country where these works are found; by a careful examination of the skeletons of the people themselves; their dress; their ornaments, such as beads, bracelets, badges of office; their places of amusement, burial and worship; their buildings, and the materials used in their structure; their wells; domestick utensils; weapons of offence and defence; their medals and monuments, intended to perpetuate the memory of important events in their history; their idols; their modes of burial, and of worship; their fortifications, and the form, size, situation, and materials with which they were constructed. These are fragments of history, as Bacon would say, which have been saved from the deluge of time. Let us examine these fragments; let us also compare whatever belonged to this people in common with any other, either now or heretofore inhabiting this or any other part of our globe.

Who then were the Authors of our Ancient Works?

If we look into the Bible, the most authentick, the most ancient history of man, we shall there learn,

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that mankind, soon after the deluge, undertook to raise a tower high as heaven, which should serve to keep them together, as a place of worship, and stand to future ages as a monument of their industry, their religious zeal, their enterprize, their knowledge of the arts. Unacquainted, as they undoubtedly were, with the use of letters, in what better way could their names have been handed down to their posterity with renown? But in this attempt they were disappointed, and themselves dispersed through the wide world. Did they forget to raise afterwards, similar monuments and places of worship? They did not; and, to use the words of an inspired penman, "high places," of various altitudes and dimensions, were raised "on every high hill, and under every green tree," throughout the land of Palestine, and all the east.

Some of these "high places" belonged to single families, some to a mighty chieftain, a petty tribe, a city, or a whole nation. Some were places of worship for the individual, the tribe, the village, the town, the city, or the nation, to which they respectively belonged.

At those "high places," belonging to great nations, great national affairs were transacted. Here they crowned and deposed their kings; here they concluded peace and declared war. Here the nation assembled at stated seasons, to perform the solemn worship of their deities. Here they celebrated anniversaries of great national events, and buried the illustrious dead.

The Jews, on many great occasions, assembled at Gilgal. The name of the place, signifies "a heap."

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Here was a pile of stones, which were brought from the bed of the river Jordan, and piled up on the spot where they encamped for the first night after they crossed that river, on their entrance into "the promised land." Let the reader examine similar piles of stones on the waters of the Licking, near Newark, in the counties of Perry, Pickaway and Ross, and then ask himself, Whether those who raised our monuments, were not originally from Asia? Shiloh, where the Jews frequently assembled to transact great national affairs, and perform acts of devotion, was situated upon a high hill. When this place was deserted, the loftier hill of Zion was selected in its stead. Upon Sinai's awful summit the law of God was promulgated. Moses was commanded to ascend a mountain to die. Solomon's temple was situated upon a high hill by Divine appointment. Samaria, a place celebrated for the worship of idols, was built upon the high hill of Shemer, by Omri, king of Israel, who was there buried. How many hundreds of mounds in this country are situated on the highest hills, surrounded by the most fertile soils? Traverse the counties of Licking, Franklin, Pickaway and Ross; examine the loftiest mounds, and compare them with those described as being in Palestine. Through the wide world, such places seem to have been preferred by the men of ancient times who erected them. In England, Scotland, and Wales, they are thus situated. For what we are about to quote concerning them, we are indebted to Pennant's Tour.*

* Vol. III. pages 66 and 67, fourth London edition, and refer to Plate VIII.

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By examining Pennant's drawing and description of the Antiquities of Delvin, otherwise called Inch-Tuthel, on the river Tay, the reader will see how much the works on the Tay resemble ours on the Licking, near Newark. Pennant, however, imagines these to be Roman works, but Boethius, the only authority quoted by him, says, that Delvin is a work of the ancient Picts, and was by them called "Tulina." The reader is requested to compare the works near Newark, with those of Delvin.

The camp at Comerie, is also described by Pennant.* The learned author will have this a Roman work also; yet all the authorities quoted by him ascribe it to the Picts. The camp, as Pennant calls it, is on a water of Ruchel, situated on a high alluvion, like many of ours in the west. The Antiquities of Ardoch, also, the learned author will persist in ascribing to the Romans.† These works are on a water of Kneck. Without any authority whatever, Pennant ascribes them to Agricola.—Their walls, ditches, gateways, mounds of defence before them, and every thing about them, resemble our works here. The reader is invited to make the comparison. Pennant's imaginary Prætorium, is exactly like the circular works around our mounds, when placed within walls of earth. "Catter-thun,"‡ two miles from Angus, is ascribed by the learned tourist to the Caledonians, but such works are very common in Ohio. Such have been already described in this memoir.

* Vol. III. page 96. † Ib. p. 102. ‡ Ib. p. 158.

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The same author describes two works on the river Loder or Lowthee, and one near the river Eimet,* exactly like ours in the west. The strong resemblance between the works in Scotland and ours, I think no man will deny.

I shall not trouble myself to examine authorities, as to works of the same kind in various parts of the British isles, because I might fatigue without instructing the reader. What has been said already, applies to many, very many others, throughout England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. They were places of worship, burial, and defence, for the Picts, so called by the Romans, because they painted themselves, like the aborigines of this continent.

The acquaintance of the Egyptians with the useful and ornamental arts, was of an earlier date than that of the nations around them. Their pyramids and temples, medals and monuments, show us a comparatively civilized people, whilst their neighbours were rude barbarians—the former were shepherds, the latter hunters. In Egypt, a lofty pyramid is a place of sepulture and an altar, whilst a rude pile of stones at Gilgal, is raised for the purpose of commemorating a great national event.

The land of Ham, seems to have been the place where the arts were first nursed. A thickly crowded population, inhabiting a fertile soil, intersected by a large river, were placed in the most favourable circumstances for obtaining an acquaintance with the arts and sciences. The Nile fertilized their

* Vol. I. page 276, and plate 19, Nos. 1, 2 and 3.

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fields, and wafted on its waves the bark of the mariner, while beneath its unruffled surface it contained an abundance of fishes. It invited to trade, to enterprize, and wealth. The people flourished and the arts were fostered. The same remarks apply to the people of the Indus and the Ganges—the results were similar. The banks of these streams were first cultivated. When other parts of the world were peopled, we have reason to believe, that it was done, either by fugitives from justice or from slavery. Their low origin will account for their low vices, and their ignorance. Living in countries but thinly settled, their improvement in their condition was gradual, though steady.

It is interesting to the philosopher, to observe the progressive improvements made by man in the several useful arts. Without letters, in the first rude stages of society, the tree is marked with a view to indicate what is already done, or is intended to be done. Though our Indians had lived along our Atlantick border for ages, yet they had advanced no farther in indicating projected designs, or in recording past events. The abundance of wild game, and the paucity of their numbers, will satisfactorily account for their ignorance in this, and almost every other respect. Coming here at an early age of the world, necessity had not civilized them. At that period, in almost all parts of the globe then inhabited, a small mound of earth served as a sepulchre and an altar, whereon the officiating priest could be seen by the surrounding worshippers.

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For many ages we have reason to believe there were none but such altars. From Wales, they may be traced to Russia, quite across that empire, to our continent; across it from the mouth of the Columbia on the Pacifick ocean, to Black River, on the east end of lake Ontario. Thence turning in a southwestern direction, we find them extending quite to the southern parts of Mexico and Peru.

In the Russian empire, mounds are numerous, and were every where seen by the learned Adam Clarke, LL. D. in his tour from St. Petersburg to the Crimea, in the year 1800. In his travels in Russia, Tartary, and Turkey,* the author, in speaking of the country between St. Petersburg and Moscow, says, "Conical mounds of earth or tumuli occur very frequently. The most remarkable may be seen between Yezolbisky and Valdai, on both sides of the road, but chiefly on the left; and they continue to appear from the latter place to Jedrova. Professor Pallas has given a representation of four of those tumuli in a vignette at the beginning of his late work. They are common all over the Russian empire." Again,† the author says, "There are few finer prospects than that of Woronetz, viewed a few verats from the town on the road to Paulovsky. Throughout the whole of this country are seen dispersed over immense plains, mounds of earth, covered with a fine turf, the sepulchres of the ancient world, common to almost

* Vol. I. page 21, second Newyork edition.
† The same Vol. page 138.

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every habitable country. If there exists any thing of former times, which may afford monuments of antediluvian manners, it is this mode of burial.—They seem to mark the progress of population in the first ages, after the dispersion, rising wherever the posterity of Noah came. Whether under the form of a mound in Scandinavia and Russia, a barrow in England, a *cairn* in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, or those heaps, which the modern Greeks and Turks call *Tepe*; lastly, in the more artificial shape of a pyramid in Egypt; they had universally the same origin. They present the simplest and sublimest monuments, which any generation could raise over the bodies of their progenitors; calculated for almost endless duration, and speaking a language more impressive than the most studied epitaph upon Parian marble. When beheld in a distant evening's horizon, skirted by the rays of the setting sun, and touching, as it were, the clouds which hang over them, imagination pictures the spirits of heroes of remoter periods descending to irradiate the warriour's grave. Some of them rose in such regular forms, with so simple and yet so artificial a shape, in a plain, otherwise so perfectly level and flat, that no doubt whatever could be entertained respecting them. Others, still more ancient, have at last sunk into the earth, and left a hollow place, which still marks their pristine situation. Again, others, by the passage of the plough upon their surfaces, have been considerably diminished."

How exactly does this description of Clarke's apply to our mounds in the west? Who ever de-

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scribed with more accuracy, that species of mounds of earth in Ohio, which were used as cemeteries? Unless we knew to the contrary, who of us in Ohio, would ever suspect, that Dr. Clarke was not describing with fidelity, our western mounds? In one conjecture, however, he is mistaken; that is, in supposing those to be the most ancient, which were but just begun. I have seen them in all stages, from the time that a circular fosse, with a hole in its centre, was made, until these mounds were brought to a perfect point at the summit.

In Scioto county, a few miles from Portsmouth, is a circular fosse, with a hole in the centre of the area which it encloses. The owner makes use of this work as a barn yard.

There is a work of a similar form between two walls, belonging to the works at Newark; and I have seen several on the Kenhawa river, not far from Point Pleasant, and others, left in the same unfinished state, in a great number of places. It would seem that where a ditch was to enclose a tumulus, this ditch was first dug, then a hole made in the centre, which was covered over with wood, earth, stones, or brick, then a large funeral pile constructed, and the corpse of some distinguished personage placed on it and burnt. An examination of the works already described, will amply justify these conjectures.

I have a brick, now before me, over which lay, when found, wood ashes, charcoal, and human bones, burnt in a large and hot fire. And from what was found at Circleville, in the mound already described, it would seem that females were some-

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times burnt with the males. I need not say, that this custom was derived from Asia, as it is well known to all my readers, that that is the only country to look to for the origin of such a custom.—The Greeks and Romans practised burning their illustrious dead. It was practised by several other nations, but they all derived it from Asia.

In the same volume of travels, * Dr. Clarke says, "Tumuli, so often mentioned before, abound in all steppes; and, in working the cliff for a magazine, or storehouse, where one of these tumuli had been raised, they found, in the sandy soil of which it consisted, an arched vault, shaped like an oven, constructed of large square bricks, and paved in a style of exquisite workmanship with the same materials."

We are told by the same author,† that "The Cossacks at Ekaterinedara, dug into some of these mounds for the purpose of making cellars, and found several ancient vases." Such vases are discovered in ours. Several have been found in our mounds, which resemble one found in Scotland, and described by Pennant. Another, somewhat resembling a small keg in its construction, and a tea kettle in the use to which it was put, is represented by the following drawing *(A.)* This vessel appears to be made of a composition of clay and shells.

*Vol. I. page 224. † Clarke's Travels, Vol. I. p. 236.

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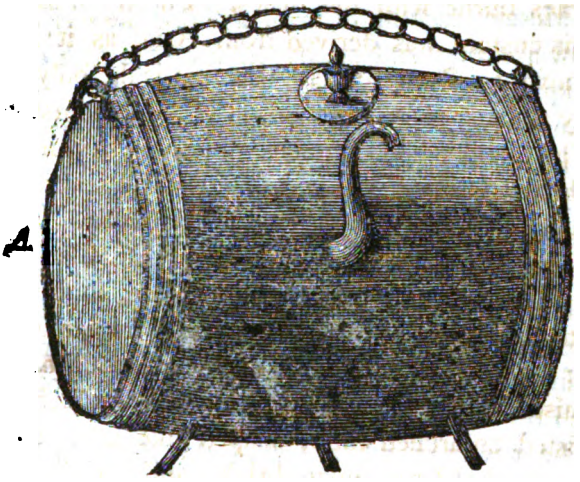

Dr. Clarke informs us, that the bones of horses, as well as human bones, were found in some mounds in Russia. The teeth of bears, otters and beavers, are found in ours, lying beside the bones of human beings; but no bones of horses have been found to my knowledge.

Thus we learn from the most authentick sources, that these ancient works existing in Europe, Asia, and America, are as similar in their construction, in the materials with which they were raised, and in the articles found in them, as it is possible for them to be. Let those who are constantly seeking for some argument, with which to overthrow the history of man by Moses, consider this fact. Such persons have more than once asserted, that there were different stocks or races of men; but this similarity of works almost all over the world, indicates that all men sprung from one common origin.

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I have always considered this fact, as strengthening the Mosaic account of man, and that the scriptures throw a strong and steady light on the path of the Antiquarian.

Another quotation from the learned, ingenious, and interesting Clarke, and we have done with him. In Tartary, he found a place called "Inverness," situated in the turn of a river. He inquired the meaning of the word, and found that "Inverness," in their language, signifies "*in a turn.*" Whoever looks into Pennant's Tour, will see a plate, representing a town, in the turn of a river in Scotland, called by the same name.

The names of not a few of the rivers in England, Scotland, and Wales, are the names also of rivers in Tartary. Will any one pretend that the inhabitants of Britain emigrated to Tartary, and carried the names of their towns and rivers along with them? The Danes, who descended from the Scythians, made settlements and conquests on the British isles, even since the days of Julius Cæsar.

The Scythians, from whom the Tartars are descended in all probability, first peopled the British isles. The fact, that our works are in all respects like those in Britain, and that similar works may be found all the way from this part of America to Tartary, furnishes no contemptible proof, that the Tartars were the authors of ours also. But were the ancestors of our North American Indians the authors of our works? Had not such an opinion been advanced by some great and good men in the

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United States, the foundation on which it rests is so frail, that I certainly should not trouble myself or my readers to refute it. Never having particularly examined any of our ancient works, these writers contend that all of them were erected for purposes of defence—that the immense number of them proves that the ancestors of our Indians, having been engaged in continual civil wars, their numbers were so thinned and the remainder of them so scattered, that they lost the knowledge of those arts which they formerly possessed; and, from the shepherd state of society, reverted to that of the hunter.

First, then, as to the immense number of military works. They are not here. The lines of forts, if forts they were, commencing near Cataraugus Creek; those at Newark, at Circleville, on Paint Creek, one on the Miami, and one opposite Portsmouth, have been described. And I by no means believe that even all these were real forts. Between the Rocky Mountains and the Alleghanies, the northern Lakes and the Mexican Gulph, it may be possible, that there were originally about twenty forts, to defend a country nearly as large as Europe; and these were probably two thousand years in building, situated too in a thickly settled country! By assuming facts, existing only in the writer's imagination, how easily he can prove whatever he pleases. Thus falls the main pillar on which this opinion rested. They are not military works. But by being engaged in long and destructive wars, the ancestors of our present race of Indians lost the knowledge—of what? of constructing *military*

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works. I should have drawn from such premises a conclusion exactly the reverse of this. I should have supposed, that the longer any people were engaged in war, the greater, in the same ratio, would be their knowledge of the art of war. Placed in such a situation, in every other part of the world, man has rapidly improved in this art. To such circumstances, many inventions and improvements owe their origin. Was there no Archimedes in the west? or, Have not the people been slandered?

As to the number of their wars, I can say nothing, because there is no history of them; but as to the number of forts here, I say they are few, and justify no such inferences as have been attempted to be drawn.

Have our present race of Indians ever buried their dead in mounds? Have they constructed such works as are described in the preceding pages? Were they acquainted with the use of silver, or iron, or copper? All these, curiously wrought, were found in one mound at Marietta. Did the ancestors of our Indians burn the bodies of distinguished chiefs on funeral piles, and then raise a lofty tumulus over the urn which contained their ashes? Did the North American Indians erect any thing like the "walled town" on Paint Creek? Did they ever dig such wells as are found at Marietta, Portsmouth, and above all, such as those on Paint Creek? Did they manufacture vessels from calcareous breccia, equal to any now made in Italy? Did they ever make and worship an idol, representing the three principal gods of India? If any person can answer any one of these questions in the affir-

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mative, let him state facts minutely; and let this be done, not by a mere traveller, whose credulity has been practised upon by either red or white men.

By referring to the works of those American writers who have affected to believe that *all* our Antiquities belonged to the ancestors of our North American Indians, it will be seen, that this opinion has been advanced to refute the representations of some Europeans, that our climate was debilitating in its effects upon the bodies and minds of the people of America, and that nature belittled every thing here. In answer to this false theory, Were our writers so hardly pressed for arguments, that they were obliged to resort to another theory equally unfounded in truth? Does not their argument prove exactly the reverse of what they contend for? Well might their opponents say to our writers, "It is true that all your ancient works in the west, were raised by the ancestors of your Indians in North America. When they came into your country they were half civilized, but such were the debilitating effects of your climate upon both their bodies and minds, that they degenerated into savages in the lowest state of barbarism." When proofs are brought forward that our climate or civil wars have produced such a deplorable effect, we may then believe it.

The skeletons found in our mounds never belonged to a people like our Indians. The latter are a tall, rather slender, strait limbed people; the former were short and thick. They were rarely over five feet high, and few indeed were six. Their

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foreheads were low, cheek bones rather high; their faces were very short and broad; their eyes were very large; and, they had broad chins. I have examined more than fifty skulls found in tumuli, several of which I have before me. The drawing which I have given, is a fair specimen of them.—It is one eighth part of the size of the skull from which it was taken. *(C.)*

The limbs of our fossils are short and very thick, and resemble the Germans, more than any Europeans with whom I am acquainted.

An idol found in a tumulus near Nashville, Tennessee, and now in the museum of Mr. Clifford, of Lexington, Kentucky, will probably assist us in forming some idea, as to the origin of the authors of our western Antiquities. Like the "Triune vessel," hereafter mentioned, it was made of a clay peculiar for its fineness and its use, which is quite abundant in some parts of Kentucky. With this clay, was mixed a small portion of gypsum, or sulphat of lime.

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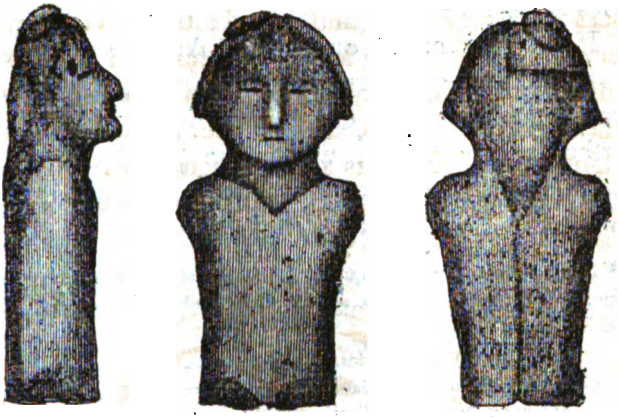

This idol* represents, in three views, a man in a state of nudity, whose arms have been cut off close to the body, and whose nose and chin have been mutilated; with a fillet and cake upon his head. In all these respects, as well as in the peculiar manner of plaiting the hair, it is exactly such an idol as Professor Pallas found in his travels in the southern part of the Russian empire.†

The idol discovered near Nashville, shows from whence its worshippers derived their origin and their religious rites. The "Triune idol or vessel," shows, in my opinion, that its authors originated in Hindostan, and the one now under consideration

* The original drawing of the three views of this idol was made by Miss Sarah Clifford, of Lexington, Kentucky, from which the above was taken.

† Pallas's Travels, Vol. II. Vignette No. II.

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induces a belief, that some tribes were from countries adjacent.*

If the ancestors of our North American Indians were from the northern parts of Tartary, those who worshipped this idol came from a country lying farther to the south, where the population was dense, and where the arts had made great progress. While the Tartar of the north, was a hunter and a

*Those who wish to be acquainted with what the poets have said, concerning human sacrifices among the Greeks, may consult the Æneid, lib. II. v. 116.

Sanguine placâstis ventos, et virgine cæsâ,
Cum primùm Iliacas Danai venistis ad oras;
Sanguine quærendi reditus, animâque litandum
Argolicâ. Vulgi quæ vox ut venit ad aures,
Obstupuere animi, gelidusque per ima cucurrit
Ossa tremor; cui fata parent, quem poscat Apollo,
Hìc Ithacus vatem magno Calchanta tumultu
Erotrahit in medios; quæ sint ea numina Divûm
Flagitat: et mihi jam multi crudele canebant
Artificis scelus, et taciti ventura videbant.
Bis quinos silet ille dies, tectusque recusat
Prodere voce suâ quemquam, aut opponere morti.
Vix tandem magnis Ithaci clamoribus actus,
Compositò rumpit vocem, et me destinat aræ.
Assensere omnes; et, quæ sibi quisque timebat,
Unius in miseri exitium conversa tulere.
Jamque dies infanda aderat; mihi sacra parari,
Et salsæ fruges, et circum tempora vittæ.

Though Sinon in whose mouth the above passage is put, was an impostor, yet the poet intends to refer his readers to what had often happened among the Greeks, and to cruel and bloody rites long established. When they sacrificed, the sacred fillets were bound upon the heads of the idol, the victim, and the priest. The salted cake was placed upon the head of the victim. It was called "mola," hence immolare, in later times was used to signify any kind of sacrifice. The sacred fillets and salted cake may be seen on the head of the idol above described. The Greeks borrowed many things from the Persians, with whom they had many wars and considerable intercourse. The Persians derived many of their ideas from the Hindoos.

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savage, the Hindoos and southern Tartars were well acquainted with most of the useful arts. The former lived in the vicinity of our continent, and probably found their way hither at an early day, while the latter came at a later period, bringing along with them the arts, the idols, and religious rites of Hisdostan, China, and the Crimea. The ancestors of our North American Indians were mere hunters, while the authors of our tumuli were shepherds and husbandmen. The temples, altars, and sacred places of the Hindoos, were always situated on the bank of some stream of water. The same observation applies to the temples, altars and sacred places of those who erected our tumuli. To the consecrated streams of Hindostan, devotees assembled from all parts of the empire, to worship their gods, and purify themselves by bathing in the sacred water. In this country, their sacred places were uniformly on the bank of some river; and who knows but that the Muskingum, the Scioto, the Miami, the Ohio, the Cumberland, and the Missisippi, were once deemed as sacred, and their banks as thickly settled, and as well cultivated, as are now the Indus, the Ganges, and the Burrampooter?

Ablution, from the situation of all the works which appear to have been devoted to sacred uses, was a rite as religiously observed by the authors of our idols, as it was neglected by our North American Indians. If the coincidences between the worship of our people, and that of the Hindoos and southern Tartars, furnish no evidence of a common origin, then I am no judge of the nature and weight of testimony.

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Some years since, a clay vessel was discovered about twenty feet below the surface, in alluvial earth, in digging a well near Nashville, Tennessee. This piece of pottery was found standing on a rock, from whence a spring of water issued. This vessel was taken to Mr. Peale's museum at Philadelphia, where it now is, as I am informed. It contains about one gallon; is circular, with a flat bottom, from which it rises in a somewhat globose form, terminating at the summit with the figure of a female head. The only hole in the vessel is situated towards the summit of the globular part of it. The features of the face of the female are Asiatick. The crown of the head is covered by a cap of a pyramidical figure, with a flattened, circular summit, ending at the apex, with a round button. The ears are large, extending as low as the chin. The features resemble many of those engraved for Raffle's History; and the cap resembles Asiatick head dresses. The foregoing was taken from an essay in the "Western Review," written by Mr. John D. Clifford.

Here is farther proof of the derivation of these people from Hindostan. The features of the face; the manner of covering the head; the shape of the vessel; the religious uses to which it was probably put at this primitive, and once clear fountain, in performing abluitions, all tend to confirm us in such a belief. Could all these things have so happened, had the authors originated any where else?

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[An Idol, of which this is a correct miniature, was, a few years since, dug up in Natchez, Mississippi, on a piece of ground, where, according to tradition, long before Europeans visited this country, stood an Indian Temple.

This idol is of stone; is nineteen inches in height, nine inches in width, and seven inches thick, at the extremities.

It was presented to the American Antiquarian Society, at the request of the owner, James Thompson, Esq. of Natchez, by the Hon. Winthrop Sargent.]

At what Period did these People come into the Territory now included in Ohio.

That it was in an early age of the world, we infer from the rude state of many of the arts among them.

In Italy we behold, on every side, the vestiges of a once powerful and polished people. We see the remains of roads, on which millions have trodden; of aqueducts, which supplied populous cities with water; of amphitheatres, once filled with thousands of admiring spectators of publick exhibitions.—Among the ruins of some unhappy town, we find the bust of the hero, or the god, which the chisel of the artist has polished; the canvas which the

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painter has made to glow with almost real life.—There, also, we find the parchment on which the poet, the biographer, the orator, and the historian have written; conveying down to us exalted ideas of their learning, their acquaintance with the arts, their genius, their eloquence, their wealth, their grandeur, and their glory.

Where, in the extended regions of the west, do we find the remains of an "Appian" or "Emilian Way?" Where do we find the moss grown column of the stately palace, the lofty dome, the solemn temple, the ruins of baths, the fragments of amphitheatres? Where the parchment on which the poet, the orator, the biographer or the historian has written, conveying down to us exalted ideas of the learning, the genius, the morals, the virtues, the wealth, the eloquence, the military prowess, the power, the grandeur, and glory of that people, or their acquaintance with the arts and sciences? Where find we the bust which the statuary has polished? Where the painting of the artist?

If that people had axes like ours, Why do we find so many of stone? If they had mirrours of glass like ours, Why use those of isinglass? If they manufactured hemp, flax, cotton and wool, Why use the bark of trees and birds' feathers in their dress? If they had the art of polishing the precious stones which they wore as ornaments, Why are so many rock crystals, in their natural state, found in our mounds? Proofs of primitive times are seen in their manners and customs; in their modes of burial and worship; in their wells, which resemble those of the patriarchal ages. Here the reader has

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only to recollect the one at Marietta, those at Portsmouth, on Paint Creek, at Cincinnati, and compare them with those described in Genesis. Jacob rolled the stone from the well's mouth; Rachel descended with her pitcher, and brought up water for her future husband, and for the flocks of her father.

Before men were acquainted with letters, they raised monuments of unwrought fragments of rocks, for the purpose of perpetuating the memory of events; such are here. In the patriarchal ages, men were in the habit of burying on high places and in mounds; so did this people. *They* buried in caves; so did *these*. Caves have been found, near Gallipolis, near Greenupsburg, in Kentucky, and in many other places in the hilly region of Ohio and the country adjacent. In some of these, skeletons have been discovered.

Their military works are such as any people would erect, who had just passed from the first to the second, from the hunter to the pastoral state of society. Were they not here as early as the days of Abraham and Lot? The geology of the country throws a faint beam of light upon the dark path, in which we are groping along with cautious steps.

The line of forts already mentioned, on the authority of Governour Clinton, beginning at the mouth of Cataraugus Creek, may be referred to. These forts, if forts they were, were built upon the brow of the hill, which appears to have once been the southern shore of lake Erie. Since they were built, the waters of the Erie have receded.

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These works are from three to five miles from the present shore, and the surface is covered by a vegetable mould, made from the decomposition and decay of vegetables, six, eight and ten inches in depth. Governour Clinton, in his Memoir, justly observes, that it must have taken a long time for a forest to grow on the earth, after it had been laid bare by the recession of the waters of the lake.—The seeds of plants must have been carried there by the wind and the birds; and, at this time, no difference is observed between this and the surrounding woods.

William Coleman, Esq. of Euclid, Ohio, a very observing and intelligent man, who was one of the first settlers on the lake shore, has never found any of these works north of the northern ridge; and recollects but two or three between the first and second ridges, and these were small. Compare these facts with the following.

In Pickaway and Ross counties, the vegetable mould covering the works of this class, is not generally more than four inches in thickness; and some of them are situated on alluvions so low, that their bases are sometimes wet by high freshets. There is such a work on the interval, near the Scioto at Circleville; there are some thus situated in Ross county, and numbers on the Great Miami.

Many of these works had gateways and parallel walls, leading down to creeks which once washed the foot of hills, from whence the streams have now receded, formed extensive and newer alluvions, and worn down their channels, in some instanoes, ten

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and even fifteen feet. We refer the reader to the works on the waters of Licking, a drawing and description of which are given.

There is a work near Colonel Dunlap's, in Ross county, where there was a way which led to a low piece of ground, that, from appearances, was once covered by the waters of a pond, which appear to have been dried away for centuries past.

The botany of the country has been consulted on this subject. It would have taken some time for the seeds of plants and trees to have been completely scattered over a whole country, extensively cultivated by a considerable population. Now, the only difference between the botany of the country where the works are found, and those tracts where there are none, is, that the trees are the largest on and about the works. Trees of the largest size, whose concentrick annular rings have been counted, have, in many instances, as many as four hundred, and they appear to be at least the third growth since the works were occupied.

An examination of the works themselves may throw some light on the subject. Those along the lakes are comparatively few in number and small in size, but increase in both respects, greatly, as their authors proceeded towards the south. Their numbers must have wonderfully increased as they slowly descended the water courses, and their improvement in the useful arts is every where visible.

Their pottery at Salem, on the shore of lake Erie, was rude, and but ill calculated for the purposes for which it was intended; whilst along the Ohio, some of it is equal to any thing of the kind now

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manufactured. Along lake Erie, it was not glazed, nor was it polished; on the Ohio, it was well glazed or polished, and the vessels well shaped. Ornaments of silver, or copper, certainly belonging to this people, have not been found north of Newark; whereas below that place, vast numbers have been discovered.

North of the last mentioned place, I know of no wells perforated through rocks, by them; near that place, a great number are seen dug through as hard rocks as any in the country.

How long did this People reside here?

That they lived here for a long time, appears evident from the very numerous cemeteries, and the vast numbers of persons of all ages who were here buried. It is highly probable that more persons were buried in these mounds than now live in this state. They lived in towns, many of which were populous, especially along the Scioto from Columbus, southward.

Their greatest settlements in Ohio, were on Paint Creek, a few miles from Chillicothe; at Circleville; and along the very banks of the Ohio river, especially near Grave Creek, and the mouths of the Muskingum and Scioto. Some have supposed, that they were driven away by powerful foes; but appearances by no means justify this supposition.—That they contended against some people to the northeast of them is evident; but that they leisurely moved down the streams, is also evident, from their increased numbers, and their improvement in

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the knowledge of the arts. These required time and a settled state of society.

That they came here after the Indians had settled themselves along the Atlantick coast, is inferred from the greater knowledge of the arts diffused among the former than the latter.

It is among a dense population that these improvements are effected. It is here, that necessity, the mother of invention, prompts man to subject such animals to his dominion as he discovers most docile, best calculated to assist him in his labours, and supply him with food and raiment. From a hunter he becomes a shepherd, and drives before him his numerous flocks, weds the vine to the elm, raises pulse and maize, and constructs a better cabin for himself and family to protect them from the inclemencies of the weather. As the population increases, he subjects an additional number of animals to his dominion, and cultivates an additional number of indigenous plants. He improves the breeds of his animals already domesticated; renders his implements of industry more perfect, and extends the field of cultivation. At length the mechanick arts become so necessary, that some persons devote their whole time to them, whilst others exchange their own articles of trade for those belonging to the people of neighbouring nations. They find this exchange mutually profitable; and the profession of the merchant becomes honourable. The ship is constructed in place of the bark canoe; numbers dwell on the mountain wave, and make the deep their home. The arts and sciences are cultivated; man puts off his rough savage manners, and

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lays aside, by degrees, the ignorance and prejudices attendant on such a state of society. He has now arrived at the third, highest and last state of society —the mercantile.

Laws and municipal regulations are multiplied to protect man against man, the weak against the strong, the artless against the artful, the poor and the oppressed against the wealthy oppressor, the person of fair fame against the slanderer's tongue; arts are improved; science flourishes. This is the natural order of things. Their not having attained to this height in the scale of civilization, is one proof that the authors of our Antiquities lived in the earlier ages of the world; but they evidently improved in their condition while residing here. To have thus improved and multiplied, required time.

How great a Number of this People inhabited this Country?

We cannot arrive at absolute certainty on this subject, but we can examine their works, whose ruins we every where behold. We can examine their graves; but no historian has been left to inform us; no ghost will rise to tell us; and no response to his questions on this head, is heard by him who knocks at their tombs. Mr. Brackenridge has conjectured, that there were once five thousand villages of this people in the valley of the Missisippi. I have never counted them, nor has any other person; but the state of Ohio was once much thicker settled, in all probability, than it now

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is, when it contains about seven hundred thousand inhabitants. Many of the mounds contain an immense number of skeletons. Those of Big Grave Creek are believed to be completely filled with human bones. The large ones, all along the principal rivers in this state, are also filled with skeletons. Millions of human beings have been buried in these tumuli. To have supported such a great population, the inhabitants must have been considerably employed in agriculture.

From the Rocky Mountains in the west, to the Alleghanies in the east, the country must have been more or less settled by them; and the number of people after their settlements reached the Ohio river, must have been far greater than is generally supposed. To have erected such works, so numerous and large, must have required a great population.

The State *of the* Arts *among them.*

Some ideas on this subject may be gathered from the foregoing accounts of their works.

That they manufactured bricks, and very good ones too, we know from the discoveries made on opening their tumuli; in not a few of which, bricks have been found, besides those already described.

Gold ornaments are said to have been found in several tumuli; but I have never seen any.

Silver, very well plated, has been found in several mounds, besides those at Circleville and Marietta.

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Copper, has been found in more than twenty mounds, but generally not very well wrought. It is in all cases, like that described by Dr. Drake, already quoted. The copper, belonging to the sword, found at Marietta, is wrought with the most art of any which I have seen.

Pipe bowls of copper, hammered out, and not welded together, but lapped over, have been found in many tumuli. General Tupper described such an one to me, found by him on the elevated square at Marietta, or rather a few feet below the surface of that work. Similar ones have been discovered in other places. A bracelet of copper was found in a stone mound near Chillicothe, and forwarded to the museum at Cincinnati by the Hon. Jessup N. Couch, Esq. some time since. This was a rude ornament, and resembled somewhat the link of a common log chain; the ends passed by each other, but were not welded together. I have seen several arrow heads of this metal, some of which were five or six inches in length, and must have been used as heads of spears. Circular medals of this metal, several inches in diameter, very thin and much injured by time, have often been found in the tumuli. They had no inscriptions that I could discover. Some of them were large enough to have answered for breast plates. The small copper kettles, sometimes found near lake Erie, belonged to Indians, and were derived from the French and other Europeans.

Iron has been found in very few instances, having oxydized. They made use of it in some cases for knives and swords, the remains of which have

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been discovered in many tumuli. The balls found sometimes in alluvial earth, and in mounds, supposed by some to be cannon balls of iron, are not the work of art, but martial pyrites. I have seen very beautiful ones taken from ancient works in this country. Of *cast* iron, I have seen no article belonging to that people.

Glass has not been found, belonging certainly to that people, within my knowledge. Those pieces which have been discovered, owe their origin to the people who now live here.

Their mirrors were of isinglass, (mica membranacea) and have been met with in fifty places, at least, within my own knowledge. Besides the large and very elegant one at Circleville, and the fragments at Cincinnati, I have found more or less of these mirrors in almost all the mounds which have been opened in the country. They were common among that people, and answered very well the purpose for which they were intended. These mirrors were very thick, otherwise they would not have reflected the light.

I am disposed to believe, although their houses in some instances might have been built of stone and brick, as in the walled town on Paint Creek, and some few other places, yet that their habitations were of wood, or that they dwelt in tents; otherwise their ruins would be more frequently met with in every part of this great country. Along the Ohio, where the river is in many places wearing and washing away its banks, hearths and fireplaces are brought to light, two, four and even six feet below the surface. A long time must have elapsed,

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since the earth was deposited over them. Those who wish to see these fireplaces and remains of chimnies, by examining the bank of the Muskingum at its mouth, at Point Harmar, opposite Marietta, may gratify their curiosity. These fireplaces resemble very much those belonging to the rude cabins of the first settlers, in this or any other part of the United States. Around them are deposited immense quantities of muscle shells, bones of animals, &c. From the depth of many of these remains of chimnies, below the present surface of the earth, on which, at the settlement of this country by its present inhabitants, grew as large trees as any in the surrounding forest, the conclusion is, that a long period, perhaps of a thousand years, has elapsed since these hearths were deserted.

Scites which had been occupied by mills moved by water; buildings for manufactories of any kind of stone, I have not seen.

Some have thought that they had discovered cellars, on the scites of ancient towns. WELLS have been found in many places, and they are such as we read of in the patriarchal ages. Those at Marietta, near Portsmouth, and four on Paint Creek, are particularly referred to.

The potter's ware is by far the most interesting of any of their manufactures. On the surface of the earth, or very near it, a rude kind of ware, made of sand stone and clay in composition, near lake Erie; of clay, on the northern waters of the Scioto; of clay and shells in composition, on the Ohio and Missisippi, is frequently found, belonging to a recent era, and manufactured even by the present race of Indians. None of this ware is glazed, and its

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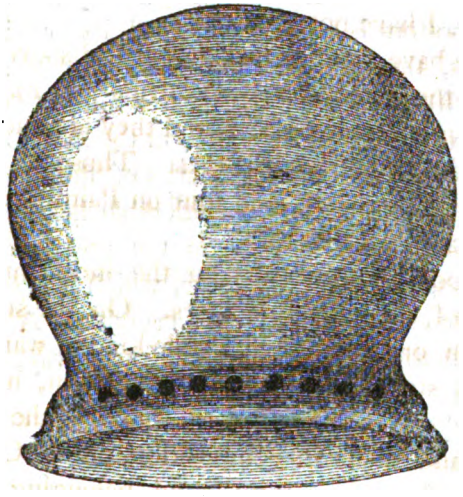
workmanship is rude. But at the bottom of mounds, or near the head of some distinguished personage, vessels are found in some instances equal to any now manufactured in any part of the world. These are not always made of the same materials. Two covers of vessels were found in a stone mound in Ross county, in this state, very ingeniously wrought by the artist, and highly polished. These were made of a calcareous breccia; fragments of which were examined by Professor Silliman, of Yale College, Connecticut. These covers resembled almost exactly, and were quite equal to vessels of that material manufactured in Italy at the present time.

An urn* was found in a mound, a few miles from Chillicothe, a drawing of which follows. It is three sevenths of the size of the article each way.



* Now in the possession of Mr. J. W. Collet, Chillicothe, Ohio.

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This urn very much resembles one found in a similar work in Scotland, and mentioned by Pennant in his Tour.* The urn there described was thirteen inches high, and of a blackish appearance, as if it had been filled with oil. It was found in a tumulus near Bamff, and contained arrow heads, ashes and calcined bones.

These urns generally contain human bones which have been burnt in a hot fire; and, from the appearance of the vessels, oil of some kind has been put into them with the bones.

Some of these urns appear to have been made of a composition resembling that of which mortars for physicians and apothecaries are now manufactured by Europeans. There is such a one now in existence, and in the possession of a gentleman residing on the little Scioto, in Scioto county, Ohio. It contains about three quarts; is brought to a perfect point at the bottom. About half way from the top to the bottom is a groove around its outside, and two ears, through which a chain may be inserted, by which to suspend it. It was found twelve feet below the surface of the earth, in the alluvion on the Ohio river. It had on it marks of fire, and is not injured by exposure to considerable heat.

A small vessel is now in the possession of S. Williams, Esq. of Chillicothe, which it is supposed might have been used as a crucible. A drawing of it, of about half the size, each way, is here annexed.

* Vol. I. page 154. London, fourth edition, 1799.

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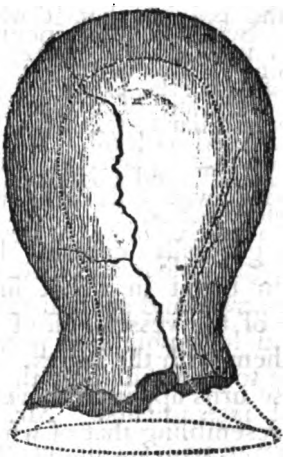

It was found in a tumulus, eight miles from the last mentioned place. It has on it the marks of fire; and bears as great a degree of heat, as the pots now used in glass manufactories, and is made of the same kind of clay.

Dr. Hildreth has described several articles which he has seen; one of which, was a vessel which contained about two quarts. It was handsomely proportioned, and nearly in the form of a cocoa nut shell. It had four neat handles placed near the brim, and opposite each other. It was found in the bank of an island near Belpre. On the beach, near the mouth of Muskingum, was discovered a curious ornament. It is made of white marble, in form a circle, about three inches in diameter. The outer edge is about one inch in thickness with a narrow rim. The sides are deeply concave, and in the centre is a hole about half an inch in diameter. It is beautifully finished, and so smooth, that Dr.

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Hildreth is of the opinion that it was once highly polished. It is now in the possession of David Putnam, Esq. of Marietta, Ohio.

Other articles, similar to this, have been found in several mounds in many places. The use to which the one described was put, cannot certainly be known. Was it a rude wind instrument of musick? or, Was it a badge of office and distinction?

Some of their arrow and spear heads are brought to such fine and long points, so perfectly regular, that it is difficult to ascertain how they were made, even with steel instruments. Mr. Clifford has heard of a fish spear, with six or seven long prongs, perfectly separated, barbed and carved out of calcedonick flint.

I have an axe in my little cabinet, found near Jackson, in this state, and presented to me by Daniel Hoffman, Esq. made of a species of green stone, equal to Egyptian granite. It is polished in the neatest manner.

Mr. Clifford has a pipe in his collection, which was found in digging a trench on Sandusky river, in alluvial earth, six feet below the surface, which displays great taste in its execution. The rim of the bowl is in high relief, and the front represents a handsome female face. The stone from which it is made, is the real talc graphique, exactly resembling the stone of which the Chinese make their IDOLS. No talc of this species is known to exist on this side of the Alleghanies; and this article, of course, must have been brought here from a distance, probably from Asia.

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Fragments of fishing nets and mocasons, made of a species of rattle weed, have been found in the nitrous caves of Kentucky.

The mummies have generally been found enveloped in three coverings; first, in a coarse species of linen cloth, of about the consistency and texture of cotton bagging. It was evidently woven by the same kind of process, which is still practised in the interiour parts of Africa. The warp being extended by some slight kind of machinery, the woof was passed across it, and then twisted every two threads of the warp together, before the second passage of the filling. This seems to have been the first rude method of weaving in Asia, Africa and America. The second envelope of the mummies, is a kind of net work, of coarse threads, formed of very small, loose meshes, in which were fixed the feathers of various kinds of birds, so as to make a perfectly smooth surface, lying all in one direction. The art of this tedious, but beautiful, manufacture was well understood in Mexico, and still exists on the northwest coast of America, and in the islands of the Pacifick ocean. In those isles, it is the state or court dress. The third and outer envelope of these mummies is either like the one first described, or it consists of leather, sewed together. My authority is Mr. Clifford, of Lexington, Kentucky, a member of the American Antiquarian Society.

This account of manufactured articles of similar vessels, made of our best clays, might be extended to many pages, but it is hoped that what has been said, may suffice. I beg leave, however, to add, that the ancient inhabitants of the west, were better

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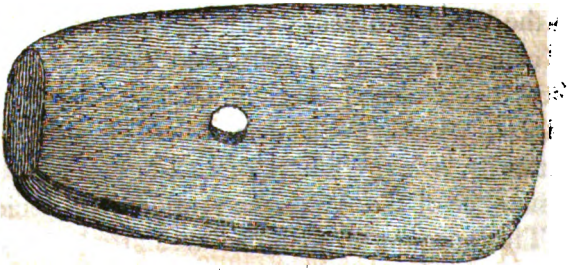
acquainted with the manufacture of vessels of this kind, than with almost any other articles. Though they had some few very well manufactured swords and knives of iron, possibly of steel, yet they certainly used many stone axes, stone knives, arrow heads, &c. which are found in many of the tumuli. Stones curiously wrought and well polished of granite, of hornblend, of marble, of calcareous breccia, and sometimes of sand stone, are discovered in tumuli; a collection of which, I have before me. Several drawings of these are given. Rock crystals, of the most beautiful species, were probably worn as ornaments, one of which I have in my possession.

Drawings of Ornaments and Domestick Utensils, taken from Mounds, chiefly by Caleb Atwater, and most of them in his possession.

All these drawings are three fifths each way as large as the article they represent.



A stone ornament, supposed to have been worn on the breast, suspended by a string round the wearer's neck.

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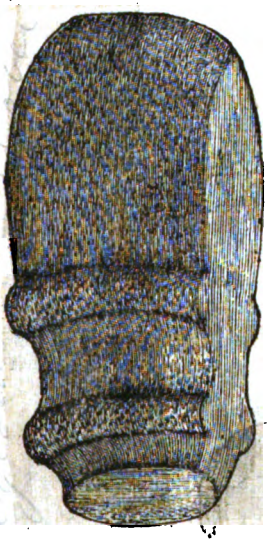
A Stone Axe.



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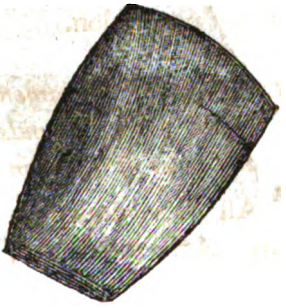

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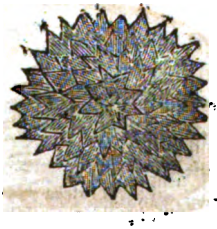

3. A small Axe of granite. 5. A curious stone Axe, of granite. 7. A beautiful Rock Crystal, supposed to have been worn as an ornament.

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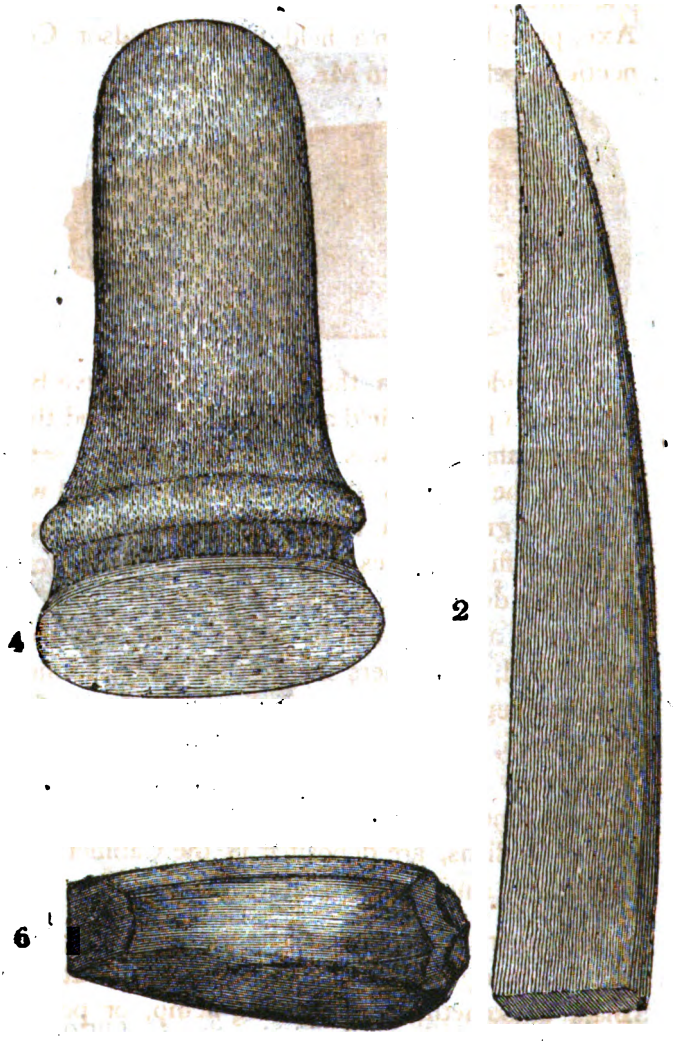

2. An ancient Pickaxe, made of hornblend.—
4. A stone Pestle, of granite. 6. Stone Axe.

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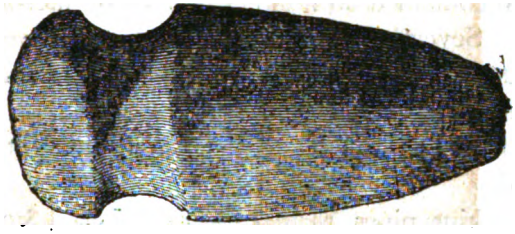
[The following is a drawing (a little less than one third of the size, each way) of an Indian Stone Axe, ploughed up in a field, in Eastwindsor, Connecticut, belonging to Mr. Abner Reed.]



It is evident, from the articles which have been ploughed up in the field above mentioned, and those adjacent, that there was once in this place, a settlement of the Aboriginals. The articles found were axes, of granite; a very large number of arrow heads, of flint; pieces of pots, made of chalk stone; and other domestick articles of stone.

Several axes, similar in shape to the one above mentioned, and others shaped differently, found in the Newengland States, together with some from Missisippi, and others from the Choctaw country; with many other domestick utensils, all of stone, of various kinds, manufactured in former times by the native Indians, are deposited in the Cabinet of the American Antiquarian Society.]

Whether our ancient people used clothing made of flax, hemp or cotton, I do not know; but mats made of something resembling hemp, or possibly the bark of some kind of vegetable, have been found, besides the one mentioned in the account of the mound once standing in Chillicothe. These articles

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are so much injured by time, that it is quite difficult to say, with certainty, of what materials they were made.

No article has been found, within my knowledge, which contained on it either letters or hieroglyphicks. Several stories to the contrary, have been propagated, but, on inquiry, they had no foundation in truth.

No BRASS has been discovered here, it is believed.

Smoking pipes, made of stone, of clay, &c. have often been found; and the teeth of many of the fossil skulls, show that their owners were in the constant habit of using them.

Scientifick Acquirements.

The manner in which their works are almost always planned, when thoroughly examined, have furnished matter of admiration to all intelligent persons who have attended to the subject.

Nearly all the lines of ancient works found in the whole country, where the form of the ground admits of it, are right ones, pointing to the four cardinal points. Where there are mounds enclosed, the gateways are most frequently on the east side of the works towards the rising sun. Where the situation admits of it, in military works, the openings are generally towards one or more of the cardinal points. Had their authors no knowledge of astronomy? These things never could have so happened, with such invariable exactness in almost all cases, without some design.

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On the whole, I am convinced, from an attention to many hundreds of these works, in every part of the west which I have visited, that their authors had some knowledge of astronomy. The pastoral life, which men followed in the early ages, was certainly very favourable to the attainment of such a knowledge. Dwelling in tents, or in the open air, with the heavenly bodies in full view, and much more liable to suffer from any change in the weather than we are, who dwell in comfortable habitations, they would of course, direct their attention to the prognosticks of approaching heat and cold, stormy or pleasant weather. Our own sailors are an example in point. Let a person, even wholly unaccustomed to the seas, be wafted for a few weeks by the winds and waves, and he is all ear to every breeze, all eye to every part of the heavens. Thus, in the earliest ages of mankind, astronomy was attended to, partly from necessity; hence a knowledge of this science was early diffused among men, the proofs of which are beheld in their works, not only here, but in every part of the globe where they then dwelt. It was reserved for the immortal geniuses of modern times, to make the most astonishing discoveries in this science, aided by a knowledge of figures, and an acquaintance with the telescope; but men in ancient times were by no means inattentive to this noble science.

Their Religious Rites and Places of Worship.

Knowledge on these subjects must be sought for in and about the mounds, which appear to have been used for many important purposes.

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In addition to what is already said, under the descriptions of mounds, we will here add, that on the Cany fork of Cumberland river, a vessel was found in an ancient work, about four feet below the surface, a drawing of which is here given.* It is believed to be an exact likeness.

3 1

The object itself may be thus described. It consists of three heads, joined together at the back part of them, near the top, by a stem or handle, which rises above the heads about three inches. This stem is hollow, six inches in circumference at the top, increasing in size as it descends. These heads are all of the same dimensions, being about four inches from the top to the chin. The face at the eyes is three inches broad, decreasing in breadth

* The original drawing was by Miss Sarah Clifford, of Lexington, Kentucky. It is by some, called a "Triune Idol."

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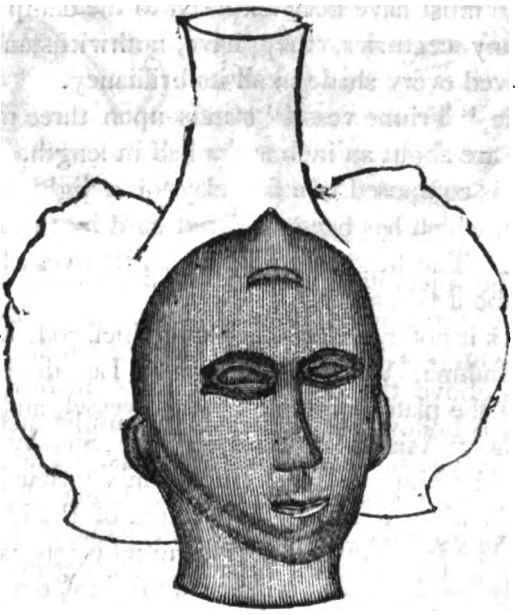
all the way to the chin. All the strong marks of the Tartar countenance are distinctly preserved; and expressed with so much skill, that even a modern artist might be proud of the performance. The countenances are all different each from the other; and denote an old person and two younger ones.

The face of the eldest is painted around the eyes with yellow, shaded with a streak of the same colour, beginning from the top of the ear, running in a semicircular form to the ear on the other side of the head. Another painted line begins at the lower part of the eye, and runs down before each ear about one inch. [*See figure* 1.]

Back view.

2



The second represents a person of a grave countenance, much younger than the preceding one,

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painted very differently and of a different colour.—A streak of reddish brown surrounds each eye.—Another line of the same colour, beginning at the top of one ear, passes under the chin, and ends at the top of the other ear. The ears also are slightly tinged with the same colour. [*See figure* 2.]

The third, [*figure* 3.] in its characteristical features, resembles the others, representing one of the Tartar family. The whole of the face is slightly tinged with vermilion, or some paint resembling it. Each cheek has a spot on it, of the size of a quarter of a dollar, brightly tinged with the same paint. On the chin is a similar spot. One circumstance worthy of remark is, that though these colours must have been exposed to the damp earth for many centuries, they have, nothwithstanding, preserved every shade in all its brilliancy.

This "Triune vessel" stands upon three necks, which are about an inch and a half in length. The whole is composed of a fine clay, of a light umber colour, which has been rendered hard by the action of fire. The heads are hollow, and the vessel contains about one quart.

Does it not represent the three chief gods of India, Brahma, Vishnoo and Siva? Let the reader look at the plate representing this vessel, and consult the "Asiatic Researches," by Sir William Jones; let him also read Buchanan's "Star in the East," and the accounts there found of the idolatry of the Hindoos; and, unless his mind is formed differently from mine, he will see in this idol, one proof at least, that the people who raised our ancient works, were idolators; and, that some of them

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worshipped gods resembling the three principal deities of India. What tends to strengthen this inference, is, that nine murex shells, the same as described by Sir William Jones in "Asiatic Researches," and by Symmes in his "Embassy to Ava," have been found within twenty miles of Lexington, Kentucky, in an ancient work. Their component parts remained unchanged, and they were every way in an excellent state of preservation. These shells, so rare in India, are highly esteemed and consecrated to their god Mahadeva, whose character is the same with the Neptune of Greece and Rome. This shell, among the Hindoos, is the musical instrument of their Tritons. These shells, found near Lexington, are in the musuem of Mr. John D. Clifford, of that place, a very worthy gentleman. The foot of the Siamese god, Gaudma or Boodh, is represented by a sculpture, in Ava, of six feet in length, and the toes are carved, each to represent a shell of the murex. These shells have been found in many mounds which have been opened in every part of this country; and this is a proof that a considerable value was set upon them by their owners.

That the people who erected our ancient works were idolators, is inferred also from the age of the world in which they lived; from the certainty which history, sacred and profane, affords, that all other nations were idolators at the same time; that all people, except the Jews, who buried their dead in tumuli, were idolators.

Many of the most intelligent persons, who have examined our antiquities with care, have expressed

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a belief that the sun was worshipped by this people. Without pretending to decide on a subject so intricate, and where there is no positive proof of the fact; and without even expressing an opinion myself, the circumstances on which others have founded such an opinion shall be briefly stated.

Wherever there is a walk like a road up to any large mound, elevated, circular or square work, where the situation of the ground will admit of it, such works are uniformly on the east side, as at Circleville. Mounds are generally so situated, as to afford a good view of the rising sun. Hundreds might be mentioned as examples. Where mounds are encircled with walls and ditches, if there is a gateway, it is almost uniformly towards the east. Where persons belonging to this people were buried in caves, as they sometimes were, the mouth of the cave is towards the east; wherever we find a pavement in a semicircular form, partly enclosing a mound, it is always on the east side. When persons were buried in graves, as they often were,* these graves were east and west. I suspect that our custom of burying the dead in the same way, was derived from the same origin; and our practice of having our burying grounds always near churches, and sometimes under them, is derived from the primitive custom of interring the dead either near or in the ancient tumuli, which were us-

* Many wonderful tales have been related of a race of pigmies, whose burying grounds have been discovered in the West. A little more attention would have cleared up the mystery. The legs below the knee joint were turned under the body, which made the graves very short, though the skeletons are as large as those found in our mounds. They were a short but very thickset people.

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ed as altars, on which temples were, in later ages, erected.

Medals, representing the sun with its rays of light, have been found in the mounds. One of these was discovered by Judge Crull, of Scioto county, Ohio, a fragment of which was forwarded, to be deposited in the Cabinet of the American Antiquarian Society. It is made of a very fine clay, and coloured in the composition before it was hardened by heat. It was originally more than three inches in diameter.

But it appears to me, judging from the same, or rather similar, data, there is quite as much evidence of their worshipping the moon; for the semicircles represent the new moon; and copper medals, perfectly round, thin, flat and smooth, without any thing to represent rays of light, have been much oftener found than any others; and semicircular works, sometimes three or more joined together, always however facing the east, are to be seen entirely unconnected with any other works. There are several such not far from Col. James Dunlap's, in Ross county. They are of earth, and only a few feet high, as described to me by the above named gentleman. Such works are quite common where this people once dwelt. I have sometimes suspected them to be unfinished works, where mounds were about to be erected on the west side of the semicircles.

All I pretend to do, is to lay an unvarnished statement of facts before the reader, who can form what opinion he chooses on the subject.

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What finally became of this People? and, Where are their Descendents now?

On opening a mound near the "Big Grave" below Wheeling, a few years since, a stone was found, having on it a brand exactly similar to the one most commonly used by the Mexicans in marking their cattle and horses. The above fact is noticed by Harris in his 'Tour,' to which the reader is referred.

The head of the sus-tajassu, or Mexican hog, cut off square, was found in a saltpetre cave in Kentucky, a few years since, by Dr. Brown. This circumstance is mentioned by Dr. Drake, in his "Picture of Cincinnati." The nitre had preserved it. It had been deposited there by the ancient inhabitants, where it must have laid for many centuries. I am not aware of this animal's being found north of Mexico. The presumption is, that the ancient inhabitants took these animals along with them, in their migrations, until they finally settled themselves in Mexico. Other animals were, in all probability, domesticated by them, and taken with them also.

Our ancient works continue all the way into Mexico, increasing indeed in size, number and grandeur, but preserving the same forms, and appear to have been put to the same uses. The form of our works is round, square, semicircular, octagonal, &c. agreeing in all these respects with the works in Mexico. The first works built by the Mexicans were mostly of earth, and not much superiour to the common ones on the Missisippi.

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Temples were afterwards erected on the elevated squares, circles, &c. but were still, like ours, surrounded by walls of earth.

These sacred places, in Mexico, were called "Teocalli," which, in the vernacular tongue of the most ancient tribe of Mexicans, signifies "Mansions of the gods." They included within their sacred walls, gardens, fountains, habitations of priests, temples, altars, and magazines of arms. This circumstance may account for many things which have excited some surprize among those who have hastily visited the works on Paint Creek, those at Portsmouth, Marietta, Circleville, Newark, &c.

It is doubted by many to what uses these works were put; whether they were used as forts, as cemeteries, as altars, as temples, &c.: whereas, they contained all these either within their walls, or were intimately connected with them. Many persons cannot imagine why the works, at the places above mentioned, were so extensive, complicated, differing so much in form, size and elevation among themselves. They contained within them altars, temples, cemeteries, habitations of priests, gardens, wells, fountains, places devoted to sacred purposes of various kinds, and the whole of their arms, except such as were in immediate use. They were calculated for defence, and were resorted to in cases of the last necessity. When driven to these, their authors fought with the greatest desperation. We are warranted in this conclusion, by knowing that these works are exactly similar to the most ancient ones now to be seen in Mexico; connected with the

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fact, that the Mexican works did contain within them ALL that we have above stated.

The "Teocalli" are attributed, by the Mexicans, to the Aztecks, who settled in Mexico in the year 648. Teocalli, Humboldt says, is derived from the name of one of the gods, to which they were dedicated, Tezcatlipoca, the Brahma of the Mexicans.

The pyramid of Cholula was seated on a tumulus, with four stages, and was dedicated to the god of the air, Quetzalcoatl. Our Teocalli in Ohio have generally but one stage, as at Circleville, Marietta, and Portsmouth. Others have two, as the one described already, on Paint Creek; and there is one, according to H. M. Brackenridge, Esq. near St. Louis, with three stages. That in process of time, when their numbers had wonderfully increased, they should raise a tumulus with four stages, is not remarkable. If temples of wood had been erected upon the summits of our elevated squares, no traces of them now would be seen. Time would have long since effaced them.

Their religious rites were, it is believed, the same as those of Mexico and Peru. We wish not to repeat what we have said already, but cannot help referring to the fact of the numerous mirrors of *mica membranacea*, (isinglass) which have been found in the mounds situated within round and square circumvallations. The one at Circleville was quite entire, and pieces of others have been found in nearly all other tumuli similarly situated, wherever they have been opened. That they were used as mirrors, appears highly probable from their shape and size. One of the three principal gods of

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the South Americans was called by a name which signifies, "The god of the shining mirror." He was supposed to be a god who reflected his own supreme perfections, and was represented by a mirror, which was made in that country of polished obsidian, or of mica like ours. The scarcity of obsidian, which is a volcanick production, may well account for its absence in this country; the numerous volcanoes in South America equally account for the abundance of mirrors of obsidian there. This deity was represented as enjoying perpetual youth and beauty. Other gods had images placed on pedestals in the Mexican temples; this one had a mirror on his. This divinity was held in awful veneration, as the great unknown God of the universe. Who does not here discover a strong trace of a knowledge of the true God, derived by tradition from the first patriarchs?

Clavigero, who was well acquainted with the histories of the Mexicans and Peruvians, professes to point out the places from whence they emigrated; the several places they stopped at; and the times which they continued to sojourn there. According to him, they finally arrived in Mexico in 648, and came across the Pacifick not far from Behring's streights, and did not come as far to the eastward as Ohio. Some tribes might arrive there by the route pointed out by him; numbers might have come this way, and have tarried here for thousands of years. Others might have found their way into South America, by crossing the Pacifick at different places and at various times. Greenlanders have been driven upon the coast of Ireland. Thus

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transported by winds and waves, by stress of weather, man has found the islands in the Pacifick.

In the same way, might have arrived persons from Africa and Europe. Austral Asians, Chinese, Hindoos, Japanese, Birmans, Kamschatdales and Tartars, might have all found their way into South America at different times, and by different routes; but, that the great body of them came here, and finally emigrated into South America, is highly probable from the circumstances already mentioned. Others might be noticed, but What more is necessary? We see a line of ancient works, reaching from the south side of lake Ontario across this state, on to the banks of the Missisippi; along the banks of that river; through the upper part of the province of Texas, around the Mexican Gulph, quite into Mexico. And the evidence is as strong, when thoroughly examined, that they were erected by the same people as there would be, that a house found standing alone, on some wild and uninhabited heath, was erected by the hand of man.

It is true, that no historian has told us the names of the mighty chieftains whose ashes are inurned in our tumuli; no poet's song has been handed down to us, in which their exploits are noticed. History has not informed us, who were their priests, their orators, their ablest statesmen, or their greatest warriours. But we find idols which show that the same gods were worshipped here as in Mexico.—The works left behind them, are exactly similar to those in Mexico and Peru; and our works are continued quite into that country.

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One fact I will here mention, which I have never learned was observed by any person but the writer, is, that wherever there is a group of tumuli, &c. three are uniformly larger than the rest, and stand in the most prominent places. Three such are to be seen standing in a line on the north side of Detroit river, opposite the town of Detroit.—Three such are to be seen near Athens, and at a great many places along the Ohio river. There are three such near the town of Piketon, and already described. Were they not altars dedicated to their three principal gods? Where they are all enclosed within walls, mirrors are only found in one of such tumuli. But one of the three gods of the people of Anahuac, was represented by "The Shining Mirror," which was the name of that deity.

With the remains of such of that people as were buried in any other places, except in elevated squares, circles, &c. some article, which had been dear or useful to the owner while living, is always found; but, although human bones are quite abundant, though lying without order, in such elevated places, yet no articles are found with them, except it be such, or rather the fragments of such, as were used about their sacrifices. These circumstances have induced Mr. John D. Clifford and others, who have devoted great attention to our antiquities, to believe that the fossil bones, found in such places, belonged to persons who were offered as victims upon altars devoted to the worship of cruel gods.—Such writers say, that if the bones had been hon-

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ourably buried, articles of some kind would have been deposited with them.

Although I have always doubted the truth of some of the relations of the Spanish writers, respecting the persecuted people of Montezuma, there is too much reason to believe that the practice of sacrificing human beings existed among them. The Spaniards have probably exaggerated, yet I fear that they did not entirely fabricate the horrid accounts of such sacrifices. And, upon the whole, we have almost as much evidence of the existence of human sacrifices among those who built our elevated squares and works of that class, in North, as we have in South America.

Thus we have traced the authors of our ancient works, from India to North, and thence to South, America. Their works being few and small, rude and irregular at first, but increasing in number, improving in every respect as we have followed them; showing the increased numbers and improved condition of their authors, as they migrated towards the country where they finally settled.

The place from whence they came, their religious rites, the attributes of their gods, the number of their principal ones, their sacred places, their situation near some considerable stream of water, their ideas of purification by the use of water, and of atonement by sacrifice, the manner of burying their dead, and many other strong circumstances in the history of this people, as well as in that of other nations existing at the same period of time, lead us to the conclusion, that the more carefully we examine the Antiquities of this or any other country, the

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more evidence will be found, tending to establish the truth of the Mosaick history. The discoveries of the Antiquarian throw a strong and steady light upon the scriptures, while the scriptures afford to the Antiquarian the means of elucidating many subjects otherways difficult to be explained, and serve as an important guide in the prosecution of his investigations.

APPENDIX.

The following extracts from Humboldt's Views of the Cordilleras, &c. are subjoined, to shew the correspondence which exists between the Teocalli of the Mexicans, and the tumuli of the North Americans. The resemblance will be perceived, and is supposed to furnish evidence that they are the work of the same race of people, indicating their improvement in the arts, and their increased population as they progressed from the north to the south, and supporting the opinions respecting their origin and final destination, which have been advanced by the author of this memoir.

"Among those swarms of nations, which, from the seventh to the twelfth century of the Christian era, successively inhabited the country of Mexico, five are enumerated, the Toltecks, the Cicimecks, the Acolhuans, the Tlascaltecks, and the Aztecks, who, notwithstanding their political divisions, spoke the same language, followed the same worship, and built pyramidal edifices, which they regarded as *teocallis*, that is to say, the house of their gods.—

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These edifices were all of the same form, though of very different dimensions; they were pyramids, with several terraces, and the sides of which stood exactly in the direction of the meridian, and the parallel of the place. The Teocalli was raised in the midst of a square and walled enclosure, which, somewhat like the παραδεισος of the Greeks, contained gardens, fountains, the dwellings of the priests, and sometimes arsenals; since each house of a Mexican divinity, like the ancient temple of Baal Berith, burnt by Abimelech, was a strong place. A great staircase led to the top of the truncated pyramid, and on the summit of the platform were one or two chapels, built like towers, which contained the colossal idols of the divinity, to whom the Teocalli was dedicated. This part of the edifice must be considered as the most consecrated place; like the ναος, or rather the σηκος, of the Grecian temples. It was there also, that the priests kept up the sacred fire. From the peculiar construction of the edifice we have just described, the priest who offered the sacrifice was seen by a great mass of the people at the same time; the procession of the *teopixqui*, ascending or descending the staircase of the pyramid, was beheld at a considerable distance. The inside of the edifice was the burial place of the kings and principal personages of Mexico. It is impossible to read the descriptions, which Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus have left us of the temple of Jupiter Belus, without being struck with the resemblance of that Babylonian monument to the Teocallis of Anahuac.

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"At the period when the Mexicans, or Aztecks, one of the seven tribes of the Anahuatlacks, (inhabitants of the banks of rivers,) took possession, in the year 1190, of the equinoctial region of New Spain, they already found the pyramidal monuments of Teotihuacan, of Cholula, or Cholollan, and of Papantla. They attributed these great edifices to the Toltecks, a powerful and civilized nation, who inhabited Mexico five hundred years earlier, who made use of hieroglyphical characters, who computed the year more precisely, and had a more exact chronology than the greater part of the people of the old continent. The Aztecks knew not with certainty what tribe had inhabited the country of Anahuac before the Toltecks; and consequently the belief, that the houses of the deity of Teotihuacan and of Cholollan was the work of the Toltecks, assigned them the highest antiquity they could conceive. It is however possible, that they might have been constructed before the invasion of the Toltecks; that is, before the year 648 of the vulgar era. We ought not to be astonished, that no history of any American nation should precede the seventh century; and that the annals of the Toltecks should be as uncertain as those of the Pelasgi and the Ausonians. The learned Mr. Schloezer has clearly proved, that the history of the north of Europe reaches no higher than the tenth century, an epocha when Mexico was in a more advanced state of civilization than Denmark, Sweden and Russia.

"The Teocalli of Mexico was dedicated to Tezcatlipolica, the first of the Azteck divinities after Teotl, who is the supreme and invisible Being;

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and to Huitzilopochtli, the God of war. It was built by the Aztecks, on the model of the pyramids of Teotihuacan, six years only before the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. This truncated pyramid, called by Cortez the principal temple, was ninetyseven metres in breadth at its basis, and nearly fiftyfour metres in height. It is not astonishing, that a building of these dimensions should have been destroyed a few years after the siege of Mexico. In Egypt there scarcely remain any vestiges of the enormous pyramids, which towered amidst the waters of the lake Moeris, and which Herodotus says were ornamented with colossal statues. The pyramids of Porsenna, of which the description seems somewhat fabulous, and four of which, according to Varro, were more than eighty metres in height, have equally disappeared in Etruria.*

"But if the European conquerors overthrew the Teocallis of the Aztecks, they did not alike succeed in destroying more ancient monuments, that are attributed to the Tolteck nation. We shall give a succinct description of these monuments, remarkable for their form and magnitude.

"The group of the pyramids of Teotihuacan is in the valley of Mexico, eight leagues northeast from the capital, in a plain that bears the name of Micoatl, or the *Path of the Dead*. There are two large pyramids dedicated to the Sun (Tonatiuh,) and to the Moon (Metzli); and these are surrounded by several hundreds of small pyramids, which form streets

* Plin. xxxvi. 19.

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in exact lines from north to south, and from east to west. Of these two great Teocallis, one is fiftyfive the other fortyfour metres in perpendicular height. The basis of the first is two hundred and eight metres in length; whence it results, that the Tonatiuh Yztaqual, according to Mr. Oteyza's measurement, made in 1803, is higher than the Mycerinus, or third of the three great pyramids of Geeza in Egypt, and the length of its base nearly equal to that of the Cephren. The small pyramids, which surround the great houses of the Sun and the Moon, are scarcely nine or ten metres high; and served, according to the tradition of the natives, as burial places for the chiefs of the tribes. Around the Cheops and the Mycerinus in Egypt, there are eight small pyramids, placed with symmetry, and parallel to the fronts of the greater. The two Teocallis of Teotihuacan had four principal stories, each of which was subdivided into steps, the edges of which are still to be distinguished. The nucleus is composed of clay mixed with small stones, and it is encased by a thick wall of tezontli, or porous amygdaloid.* This construction recals to mind that of one of the Egyptian pyramids of Sakharah, which has six stories; and which, according to Pocock, is a mass of pebbles and yellow mortar, covered on the outside with rough stones. On the top of the great Mexican Teocallis were two colossal statues of the Sun, and the Moon: they were of stone, and covered with plates of gold, of which they were stripped by the soldiers of Cortez.—

* Mandelstein of the German mineralogists.

When bishop Zumaraga, a Franciscan monk, undertook the destruction of whatever related to the worship, the history, and the Antiquities of the natives of America, he ordered also the demolition of the idols of the plain of Micoatl. We still discover the remains of a staircase built with large hewn stone, which formerly led to the platform of the Teocalli.

"On the east of the group of the pyramids of Teotihuacan, on descending the Cordillera towards the Gulph of Mexico, in a thick forest, called Tajin, rises the pyramid of Papantla. This monument was by chance discovered scarcely thirty years ago, by some Spanish hunters; for the Indians carefully conceal from the whites whatever was an object of ancient veneration. The form of this Teocalli, which had six, perhaps seven stories, is more tapering than that of any other monument of this kind; it is nearly eighteen metres in height, while the breadth of its basis is only twentyfive. This small edifice is built entirely with hewn stones, of an extraordinary size, and very beautifully and regularly shaped. Three staircases lead to the top. The covering of its steps is decorated with hieroglyphical sculpture, and small niches, which are arranged with great symmetry. The number of these niches seems to allude to the three hundred and eighteen simple and compound signs of the days of the Cempohualilhuitl, or civil calendar of the Toltecks.

"The greatest, most ancient, and most celebrated of the whole of the pyramidal monuments of Anahuac is the Teocalli of Cholula. It is called in the

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Engraved for the American Antiquarian Society.

PLATE XII.

A VIEW OF THE PYRAMID OF CHOLULA, NEAR MEXICO.

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present day the Mountain made by the hand of Man (*monte hecho a manos.*)* At a distance it has the aspect of a natural hill covered with vegetation.†

"A vast plain, the Puebla, is separated from the valley of Mexico by the chain of volcanic mountains, which extend from Popocatepetl, towards Rio Frio, and the peak of Telapon. This plain, fertile though destitute of trees, is rich in memorials, interesting to Mexican history. In it flourished the capitals of the three republicks of Tlascalla, Huexocingo and Cholula, which, notwithstanding their continual dissensions, resisted with no less firmness the despotism and usurping spirit of the Azteck kings.

"The small city of Cholula, which Cortez, in his Letters to Charles V. compares with the most populous cities of Spain, contains at present scarcely sixteen thousand inhabitants. The pyramid is to the east of the city, on the road which leads from Cholula to Puebla. It is well preserved on the western side, which is that represented in the engraving.—The plain of Cholula presents that aspect of barrenness, which is peculiar to plains elevated two thousand two hundred metres above the level of the

* The pyramid of Cholula bore also the names of Toltecatl, Ecaticpac, and Tlachihuatepetl. I presume, that this last denomination is derived from the Mexican verb *tlachiani*, to see around oneself, and *tepetl*, a mountain; because the Teocalli served as a watch tower, to reconnoitre the approach of an enemy in the wars, which were perpetually occurring between the Cholulains and the inhabitants of Tlascala.

† This pyramid is represented by the annexed plate, in its present ruined state, from a drawing by Humboldt.

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ocean. A few plants of the agave and dracæna rise on the foreground, and at a distance the summit of the volcano of Orizaba is beheld covered with snow; a colossal mountain, five thousand two hundred and ninetyfive metres of absolute height, and of which I have published a sketch in my Mexican Atlas, plate 17.

"The Teocalli of Cholula has four stories, all of equal height. It appears to have been constructed exactly in the direction of the four cardinal points; but as the edges of the stories are not very distinct, it is difficult to ascertain their primitive direction. This pyramidical monument has a broader basis than that of any other edifice of the same kind in the old continent. I measured it carefully, and ascertained, that its perpendicular height is only fifty metres, but that each side of its basis is four hundred and thirtynine metres in length. Torquemada computes its height at seventyseven metres; Betancourt, at sixtyfive; and Clavigero, at sixtyone. Bernal Diaz del Castillo, a common soldier in the army of Cortez, amused himself by counting the steps of the staircases, which led to the platform of the Teocallis; he found one hundred and fourteen in the great temple of Tenochtitlan, one hundred and seventeen in that of Tezcuco, and one hundred and twenty in that of Cholula. The basis of the pyramid of Cholula is twice as broad as that of Cheops; but its height is very little more than that of the pyramid of Mycerinus. On comparing the dimensions of the house of the Sun, at Teotihuacan, with those of the pyramid of Cholula, we see, that the people, who constructed these remarkable

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monuments, intended to give them the same height, but with bases, the length of which should be in the proportion of one to two. We find also a considerable difference in the proportions between the base and the height in these various monuments; in the three great pyramids of Geeza, the heights are to the bases as 1 to 1.7; in the pyramid of Papantla covered with hieroglyphicks, this ratio is as 1 to 1.4; in the great pyramid of Teotihuacan, as 1 to 3.7; and in that of Cholula as 1 to 7.8. This last monument is built with unbaked bricks *(xamilli,)* alternating with layers of clay.—I have been assured by some Indians of Cholula, that the inside is hollow; and that, during the abode of Cortez in this city, their ancestors had concealed, in the body of the pyramid, a considerable number of warriours, who were to fall suddenly on the Spaniards; but the materials with which the Teocalli is built, and the silence of the historians of those times,* give but little probability to this assertion.

"It is certain, however, that in the interiour of this pyramid, as in other Teocallis, there are considerable cavities, which were used as sepulchres for the natives. A particular circumstance led to this discovery. Seven or eight years ago, the road from Puebla to Mexico, which before passed to the north of the pyramid, was changed. In tracing the road, the first story was cut through, so that an eighth part remained isolated like a heap of bricks. In making this opening a square house was discovered in the interiour of the pyramid, built of stone, and supported by beams made of the wood of the

* Cartas de Hernan Cortes; Mexico 1770, p. 69.

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deciduous cypress (cupressus disticha.) The house contained two skeletons, idols in basalt, and a great number of vases, curiously varnished and painted. No pains were taken to preserve these objects, but it is said to have been carefully ascertained, that this house, covered with bricks and strata of clay, had no outlet. Supposing that the pyramid was built, not by the Toltecks, the first inhabitants of Cholula, but by prisoners made by the Cholulans from the neighbouring nations, it is possible, that they were the carcasses of some unfortunate slaves, who had been shut up to perish in the interiour of the Teocalli. We examined the remains of this subterraneous house, and observed a particular arrangement of the bricks, tending to diminish the pressure made on the roof. The natives being ignorant of the manner of making arches, placed very large bricks horizontally, so that the upper course should pass beyond the lower. The continuation of this kind of stepwork served in some measure as a substitute for the Gothic vault, and similar vestiges have been found in several Egyptian edifices. An adit dug through the Teocalli of Cholula; to examine its internal structure, would be an interesting operation; and it is singular, that the desire of discovering hidden treasure has not prompted the undertaking.—During my travels in Peru, in visiting the vast ruins of the city of Chimu, near Mansiche, I went into the interiour of the famous Huaca de Toledo, the tomb of a Peruvian prince, in which Garci Gutierez de Toledo discovered, on digging a gallery, in 1576, massive gold amounting in value to more than five millions of francs, as is proved by

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the book of accounts, preserved in the mayor's office at Truxillo.

"The great Teocalli of Cholula, called also the *Mountain of unbaked bricks* (tlalchihualtepec,) had an altar on its top, dedicated to Quetzalcoatl, the god of the air. This Quetzalcoatl, whose name signifies serpent clothed with green feathers, from *coatl*, serpent, and *quetzalli*, green feathers, is the most mysterious being of the whole Mexican mythology. He was a white and bearded man, like the Bochica of the Muyscas, of whom we spoke in our descriptions of the Cataract of Tequendama.—He was high priest of Tula (Tollan,) legislator, chief of a religious sect, which, like the Sonyasis and the Bouddhists of Indostan, inflicted on themselves the most cruel penances. He introduced the custom of piercing the lips and the ears, and lacerating the rest of the body with the prickles of the agave leaves, or the thorns of the cactus; and of putting reeds into the wounds, in order that the blood might be seen to trickle more copiously. In a Mexican drawing in the Vatican library,* I have seen a figure representing Quetzalcoatl appeasing by his penance the wrath of the gods, when, thirteen thousand and sixty years after the creation of the World, (I follow the very vague chronology computed by Rios) a great famine prevailed in the province of Culan. The saint had chosen his place of retirement near Tlaxapuchicalco, on the volcano Catcitepetl (*Speaking Mountain,*) where he walked barefooted on agave leaves armed with prickles.

* Codex anonymous, No. 3738, fol. 8.

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We seem to behold one of those rishi, hermits of the Ganges, whose pious austerity* is celebrated in the Pouranas.

"The reign of Quetzalcoatl was the golden age of the people of Anahuac. At that period, all animals, and even men, lived in peace; the earth brought forth, without culture, the most fruitful harvests; and the air was filled with a multitude of birds, which were admired for their song, and the beauty of their plumage. But this reign, like that of Saturn, and the happiness of the world, were not of long duration; the great spirit Tezcatlipoca, the Brahmá of the nations of Anahuac, offered Quetzalcoatl a beverage, which, in rendering him immortal, inspired him with a taste for travelling; and particularly with an irresistible desire of visiting a distant country, called by tradition Tlapallan.† The resemblance of this name to that of Huehuetlapallan, the country of the Toltecks, appears not to be accidental. But how can we conceive, that this white man, priest of Tula, should have taken his direction, as we shall presently find, to the south-east, towards the plains of Cholula, and thence to the eastern coasts of Mexico, in order to visit this northern country, whence his ancestors had issued in the five hundred and ninetysixth year of our era?

"Quetzalcoatl, in crossing the territory of Cholula, yielded to the entreaties of the inhabitants, who offered him the reins of government. He dwelt twenty years among them, taught them to cast

* Schlegel über Sprache and Weisheit der Indier, p. 132.

† Clavigero Storia di Messico, tom. 2, p. 12.

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metals, ordered fasts of eight days, and regulated the intercalations of the Tolteck year. He preached peace to men, and would permit no other offerings to the Divinity, than the first fruits of the harvest. From Cholula, Quetzalcoatl passed on to the mouth of the river Goasacoalco, where he disappeared, after having declared to the Cholulans (Chololtecatles,) that he would return in a short time to govern them again, and renew their happiness.

"It was the posterity of this saint, whom the unhappy Montezuma thought he recognized in the soldiers of Cortez. "We know by our books," said he, in his first interview with the Spanish General, "that myself, and those who inhabit this country, are not natives, but strangers, who came from a great distance. We know also, that the chief, who led our ancestors hither, returned for a certain time to his primitive country, and thence came back to seek those, who were here established. He found them married to the women of this land, having a numerous posterity, and living in cities, which they had built. Our ancestors hearkened not to their ancient master, and he returned alone. We have always believed, that his descendants would one day come to take possession of this country. Since you arrive from that region, where the Sun rises, and, as you assure me, you have long known us, I cannot doubt, but that the king, who sends you, is our natural master."*

* First Letter of Cortez, § 21 and 29.

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"The size of the platform of the pyramid of Cholula, on which I made a great number of astronomical observations, is four thousand two hundred square metres. From it the eye ranges over a magnificent prospect; Popocatepetl, Iztaccihuatl, the peak of Orizaba, and the Sierra de Tlascalla, famous for the tempests which gather around its summit. We view at the same time three mountains higher than Mount Blanc, two of which are still burning volcanoes. A small chapel, surrounded with cypress, and dedicated to the Virgin de los Remedios, has succeeded to the temple of the god of the air, or the Mexican Indra. An ecclesiastick of the Indian race celebrates mass every day on the top of this antique monument.

"In the time of Cortez, Cholula was considered as a holy city. No where existed a greater number of Teocallis, of priests, and religious orders *(tlamacazque;)* no spot displayed greater magnificence in the celebration of publick worship, or more austerity in its penances and fasts. Since the introduction of Christianity among the Indians, the symbols of a new worship have not entirely effaced the remembrance of the old. The people assemble in crowds, from distant quarters, at the summit of the pyramid, to celebrate the festival of the Virgin. A mysterious dread, a religious awe, fills the soul of the Indian at the sight of this immense pile of bricks, covered with shrubs and perpetual verdure.

"When we consider in the same point of view the pyramidical monuments of Egypt, of Asia, and of the New Continent, we see, that, though their form is alike, their destination was altogether dif-

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ferent. The group of pyramids at Geeza and at Sakhara in Egypt; the triangular pyramid of the Queen of the Scythians, Zarina, which was a stadium high, and three in circumference, and which was decorated with a colossal figure;* the fourteen Etruscan pyramids, which are said to have been enclosed in the labyrinth of the king Porsenna, at Clusium; were reared to serve as the sepulchres of the illustrious dead. Nothing is more natural to men, than to commemorate the spot where rest the ashes of those, whose memory they cherish; whether it be, as in the infancy of the race, by simple mounds of earth, or in later periods by the towering height of the tumulus. Those of the Chinese and of Thibet have only a few metres of elevation.† Farther to the west the dimensions increase; the tumulus of the king Alyattes, father of Crœsus, in Lydia, was six stadia, and that of Ninus was more than ten stadia in diameter.‡ In the north of Europe the sepulchres of the Scandinavian king Gormus, and the queen Daneboda, covered with mounds of earth, are three hundred metres broad, and more than thirty high. We meet with these tumuli in both hemispheres; in Virginia, and in Canada, as well as in Peru, where numerous galleries, built with stone, and communicating with each other by shafts, fill up the interiour of the *huacas*, or artificial hills. In Asia these rustick monuments

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2, c. 34.

† Duhalde, Description of China, tom. 2, p. 126. Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 314.

‡ Herodotus, lib. 1, c. 93. Ctesias, apud Diod. Sicul. lib. 2, c. 7.

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have been decorated with the refinement of eastern luxury, while their primitive forms have been preserved. The tombs of Pergamus are cones of earth, raised on a circular wall, which seems to have been encased with marble.*

"The Teocallis, or Mexican pyramids, were at once temples and tombs. We have already observed, that the plain, on which were built the houses of the Sun and of the Moon at Teotihuaca, is called the *Path of the Dead;* but the essential and principal part of a Teocalli was the chapel, the *naos*, at the top of the edifice. In the infancy of civilization, high places were chosen by the people to offer sacrifices to the gods. The first altars, the first temples, were erected on mountains; and when these mountains were isolated, the worshippers delighted in the toil of shaping them into regular forms, cutting them by stories, and making stairs to reach the summit more easily. Both continents afford numerous examples of these hills divided into terraces, and supported by walls of brick or stone. The Teocallis appear to me to be merely artificial hills, raised in the midst of a plain, and intended to serve as a basis to the altars. What more sublime and awful than a sacrifice, that is offered in the sight of an assembled nation! The pagods of Indostan have nothing in common with the Mexican temples. That of Tanjore, of which Mr. Daniell has given beautiful drawings,† is a

* Choiseul Gouffier, Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce, tom. 2, p. 27 to 31.

† Oriental Scenery, Pl. 17.

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tower with several stories, but the altar is not at the top of the monument.

"The pyramid of Bel was at once the temple and tomb of this god. Strabo does not speak of this monument as a temple, he simply calls it the tomb of Belus. In Arcadia, the tumulus (χῶμα,) which contained the ashes of Calisto, bore on its top a temple of Diana. Pausanias* describes it as a cone, made by the hands of man, and long covered with vegetation. This is a very remarkable monument, in which the temple is only an incidental decoration; it serves, if we may use the expression, as an intermediary step between the pyramids of Sakhara and the Mexican Teocallis."

*Pausanias, lib. 8, c. 35.

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ACCOUNT

OF THE

PRESENT STATE

OF THE

Indian Tribes

INHABITING OHIO.

In a Letter from JOHN JOHNSTON, Esq. United States Agent of INDIAN AFFAIRS, *at* PIQUA, *to*
CALEB ATWATER, *Esq.*

COMMUNICATED TO THE

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

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A TABLE, *shewing the* STATE *of the* INDIANS *in* OHIO, *in October*, 1819.

Tribes.	*Men.*	*Women.*	*Children.*	*Towns.*	*Where situated, &c.*
Wyandots,	111	125	128	Upper Sandusky,	On Sandusky river, 44 miles south of Sandusky Bay.
Do.	8	17	19	Zanes, Mad River,	On the head of Mad River, Champaign county, Ohio.
Do.	12	16	9	Fort Finley,	Waters of the Auglaize, on Hull's Road.
Do.	32	35	30	Solomon's Town,	On the waters of the great Miami River of Ohio.
Shawanoese,	197	178	184	Wapaghkonetta,	Head of the Auglaize river, 27 miles north of Piqua.
Do.	15	22	35	Hog Creek,	Waters of the Auglaize, 10 miles north of Wapaghkonetta.
Do.	53	56	60	Lewis Town,	Head of the Miami of Ohio, 35 miles northeast of Piqua.
Senecas,	129	122	97	Seneca Town,	Sandusky River, between upper and lower Sandusky.
Do.	66	65	72	Lewis Town,	Head of the Miami of Ohio, 35 miles northeast of Piqua.
Delawares,	29	21	30	Upper Sandusky,	Sandusky River.
Mohawks,	16	19	22	Honey Creek,	Near upper Sandusky, Sandusky river.
Ottawas,	42	41	24	Blanchard's Fork,	Waters of the Auglaize, 45 miles north of Wapaghkonetta.
Do.	24	26	14	Little Auglaize,	Waters of the Miami of the Lake, 12 miles W. of fort Defiance.
Do.	19	21	16	Rock de Boeuf,	Near the foot of the Rapids of the Miami of Lake Erie.
	753	764	740=2257 souls.		

Of the Ottawas, whose residence is not stationary, and who live about Miami Bay, and on the southern shore of Lake Erie, there are 150

2407 Total number of souls in Ohio.

JOHN JOHNSTON,
Agent for Indian Affairs.

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ACCOUNT, &c.

Piqua, June 17, 1819.

SIR,

THE Indians inhabiting Ohio, are the Delawares, Wyandots, Shawanoese, Senecas and Ottawas.

The DELAWARES emigrated from the lower parts of Pennsylvania, and the adjacent parts of Newjersey, and were the primitive inhabitants of that country. They were once very numerous and powerful, but many disastrous wars with the white people, reduced them to a mere handful. Attempts have been made without success, particularly by the Moravians, to introduce Christianity and the habits of civilized life among them. At present, they are more opposed to the gospel and the whites, than any other Indians with whom I am acquainted. The far greater part of this tribe reside on White river, in Indiana. They have sold their country without any reserve, at the treaty of St. Mary's of last year, and the United States have engaged to remove them west of the Missisippi; to provide them with territory there, and have guaranteed to them its peaceable possession. Their peculiar aversion to having white people for neighbours, induced them to remove to the westward. They intend to settle on the river Arkansaw. This tribe has been in Ohio, between fifty and sixty years.

The WYANDOTS came from the country near Quebec, about two hundred and fifty years since.

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In their migratory excursions, they first settled at Detroit; then removed to the upper end of lake Michigan, and settled near Mackinaw. They engaged in war with the Indians there, and separated into two companies; one of which went to the northward; and the other, which was the most numerous, returned to Detroit, and finally extended its settlement along the southern shore of lake Erie, all the way to Sandusky Bay. Their language is entirely distinct from that of any of the other tribes in Ohio. Many words are pure Latin. All the time the French had dominion in Canada, the Roman Catholicks maintained a mission among them. They were nearly all baptized by the missionaries, and nearly all the aged people still wear crucifixes in their bosoms under their shirts. Between the years 1803 and 1810, the Presbyterians supported a missionary and a farming establishment among them, on Sandusky river. A few converts were made by them, who were put to death by the Catholick Indians, on account of their religion. The British traders were all opposed to the mission, and had influence enough to get General Hull to unite with them against the missionary, Rev. Joseph Badger. Mr. B. was recalled by the synod, and was succeeded by the Rev. J. Hughs. The minds of the Indians having been much agitated by the prospect of hostilities between England and the United States, which were commenced at Tippecanoe by the impostor, called the Prophet, the mission was withdrawn. For three years past, the Wyandots have had a Methodist preacher, a man of colour, among them. His name is Stewart. His

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preaching has wrought a great change among them. About fifty persons in the nation publickly profess to belong to the Protestant Church. A school is about to be established for them at Upper Sandusky.

The SHAWANOESE have been established in Ohio about sixtyfive years. They came here from West Florida, and the adjacent country. They formerly resided on Suwaney river, near the sea.—Black Hoof, who is eightyfive years of age, was born there, and remembers bathing in the salt water when a boy. "Suwaney" river was doubtless named after the Shawanoese, "Suwaney," being a corruption of Shawanoese. The people of this nation have a tradition that their ancestors crossed the sea. They are the only tribe with which I am acquainted, who admit of a foreign origin. Until lately, they kept a yearly sacrifice for their safe arrival in this country. From whence they came, or at what period they arrived in America, they do not know. It is a prevailing opinion among them, that Florida had once been inhabited by white people, who had the use of iron tools. Black Hoof affirms, that he has often heard it spoken of by old people, that stumps of trees covered with earth, were frequently found, which had been cut down by edged tools. For several years past, the Society of Friends, at a considerable expense, have supported an agricultural establishment among the Shawanoese. They have a grist mill and saw mill, which are kept in complete order for the use of these Indians. The Friends are about to establish a school.

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This truly benevolent denomination of Christians do not yet attempt to instruct these people in the principles of Christianity, believing that they are not yet sufficiently acquainted with the arts of civilized life. This tribe is bitterly opposed to Christianity, alleging that God gave them a dispensation suited to their situation, and that he did the same for the whites. They fancy that the Divine Being comes and sings in their religious meetings, and if they do not hear his "still, small voice," they conclude their sacrifice is not accepted.

Before attending treaties, great councils, or any other important national business, they always sacrifice, in order to obtain the good will of the Great Spirit. On a visit to the President of the United States, some years since, having arrived near Wheeling, they retired into the forest, encamped, killed game, and prepared the sacrifice.—While singing, they heard, as they believed, the voice of the Great Spirit distinctly. They set forward on their journey with alacrity, anticipating the best success in their business.

The SENECAS came from the northern parts of Newyork, and adjacent parts of Canada. They have not been long in this state. They labour more steadily, have better houses and farms, and appear more like white people in their dress and manners, than any other Indians in Ohio.

The OTTAWAS have resided from time immemorial on the waters of lake Erie. To improve them in their condition, no attempts have been yet made. The Ottawas, the Chippeways and Putawatimies, from the similarity of their language,

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must have been one nation at no remote period.—East of the Missisippi, and north of the Ohio, they are the most numerous and powerful tribe of Indians.

All the Indian nations are divided into tribes, after the manner of the Jews. The Shawanoese have four tribes.

1. The PIQUA Tribe, which they say, originated, as follows. In ancient times, they had a large fire, which being burned down, a great puffing and blowing were heard in the ashes; they loked, and behold a man stood up from the ashes!—hence the name Piqua—*a man coming out of the ashes*, or *made of ashes*.

2. The MEQUACHAKE Tribe, which signifies a fat man filled—a man made perfect, so that nothing is wanting. This tribe has the priesthood.—They perform the sacrifices and all the religious ceremonies of the nation. None but certain persons of this tribe are permitted even to touch the sacrifices.

3. The KISKAPOCOKE Tribe. The celebrated prophet, Elsquataway, and Tecumseh his brother, belonged to this tribe. They were always inclined to war, and gave much trouble to the nation. They finally separated, and took up their residence at Greenville, in this state, in 1806, since which time their history is generally known. In the late war, they lost twentytwo warriours in battle, and are quite reduced in numbers. They have now removed to their former place of residence at Tippecanoe.

4. The CHILLICOTHE Tribe. Chillicothe has no definite meaning—it is a place of residence.

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The Indians generally believe that they were created on this continent. The Shawanoese *only* have a tradition to the contrary; but it is somewhat doubtful whether the deliverance which they celebrate, has any other reference than to the crossing of some great river, or an arm of the sea. That the Indians are descended from the people of the east, is, I think, incontestably proved, by their religious rites, ceremonies and sacrifices. Considering the great length of time which must have intervened since they left that country, we are astonished at the resemblances which still exist between them.

Agriculture makes a slow but steady progress among them. Many Indians have taken to the plough. Last year, the Indian Agent delivered to them thirtysix ploughs, and every thing necessarily belonging to them. These were chiefly furnished at the expense of the Society of Friends. The Agent has now on hand implements of husbandry to the value of £100 sterling, to deliver to them at the next council. This was given them by an ancient female friend, of Cork, in Ireland. The yearly meeting of the friends in Ireland have given the sum of £150 sterling, to be applied to the same benevolent purpose. The Indians are turning their attention more and more to the raising of cattle.—The Shawanoese have appropriated, of this year's annuity, 1420 dollars, for the purchase of cows and calves; and they previously had one hundred and twentyfive head of horned cattle, and two hundred hogs.

The Senecas and others, at Lewistown, have three hundred hogs, and one hundred and fifty horned cattle.

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The Wyandots and Senecas, on Sandusky river, have fifteen hundred hogs, and five hundred horned cattle.

The stock of the Indians is every where increasing within the limits of this agency. One individual owns seventy head of cattle.

The Reservation of the Wyandots, at Upper Sandusky, is twelve by nineteen miles, including within its limits some of the best land in the state.

When the Wyandots first settled at Detroit, they killed buffaloes and elks at Springwells. The whole country between the Lakes and the Ohio abounded with them.

JOHN JOHNSTON,
Agent for Indian Affairs.

CALEB ATWATER, ESQ.

TREATIES *now in force between the Indian Nations, (who reside within the limits of Ohio and the adjacent Territories) and the United States.*

The treaty with major general Wayne, was made and concluded at Greenville, August 3d, 1795.

By this treaty, the United States are bound to pay the following tribes, annually forever, the following sums.

To the Delawares,	$1,000
the Wyandots,	1,000
the Shawanoese,	1,000
the Miamies,	1,000
the Ottawas,	1,000
the Chippeways,	1,000

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To the Putawatimies,	1,000
the Kickapoos,	500
the Weas,	500
the Eel Rivers,	500
the Piankeshaws,	500
the Kaskaskias,	500
Total	$9,500

By the Treaty of Fort Industry, of July 4th, 1805, the United States are to pay, annually forever, to the Wyandot, Munsee, Delaware and Shawanoese Tribes, $1,000

By the Treaty of Detroit, November 17th, 1807, the United States pay, annually forever,

To the Ottawas,	$800
the Chippeways,	800
the Wyandots,	400
the Putawatimies,	400
	$2,400

By the Treaty of Fort Wayne, of June 7th, 1803, the United States agree, in consideration of the cession, by the Indians, of the great Salt Springs on the Saline Creek, near the mouth of the Wabash, with four miles square of land around the same, to deliver to the Tribes who were parties to it, one hundred and fifty bushels of salt, annually forever.

By the Treaty of Vincennes, of August 13th, 1813, the United States engage to increase the annuity of the Kaskaskias to $1,000, making the same perpetual.

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By the Treaty of Grousland, near Vincennes, of August 21st, 1815, the following perpetual annuities are granted by the United States.

To the Miamies,	$600
the Eel Rivers,	250
the Weas,	250
	$1,100

By the Treaty of Vincennes, of December 30th, 1805, the United States are to pay a perpetual annuity to the Piankeshaws, of $300

By the Treaty of Fort Wayne, of September 30th, 1809, the United States engage to pay the following permanent annuities.

To the Delawares,	$500
the Miamies,	700
the Eel Rivers,	350
the Putawatimies,	500
the Weas,	100
	$2,150

By the Convention of Vincennes, of 26th October, 1809, the United States grant to the Weas a permanent annuity of $300

By the Treaty of Vincennes, of December 9th, 1809, the United States engage to pay the Kickapoos a permanent annuity of $500

By the Treaty of Fort Meigs, of September 29th, 1817, the United States engage to pay the following annuities, to wit.

To the Wyandots,	annually	forever,	$4,000
the Shawanoese,	do.	do.	2,000
the Senecas,	do.	do.	500

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To the Putawatimies,	annually	for	15 years,	1,300
the Chippewas,	do.	for	do.	1,000
the Ottawas,	do.	for	do.	1,000

By the several Treaties concluded at St. Mary's, in Ohio, in the months of September and October, 1818, the United States have engaged to pay the following permanent annuities.

To the Wyandots,	$500
the Senecas and Shawanoese, of Lewis Town,	1,000
the Senecas of Upper Sandusky River,	500
the Ottawas,	1,500
the Delawares,	4,000
the Miamies,	15,000
the Putawatimies,	2,500
the Weas,	1,850

By the various Treaties before mentioned, the United States are bound to support blacksmiths and armouries among the Indians, the expense of which, including the purchase of iron, steel and tools, is not less than $5,000 annually.

By the Treaty of Fort Meigs, it is stipulated that a grist and saw mill shall be built for the Wyandots on the Reserve at Upper Sandusky, and the same provision is made for the Miamies in the Treaty of St. Mary's, of October, 1818.

Manners, Customs, &c. *of the* Indians.

WAR is always determined on by the head warriour of the town, which feels itself to have been injured. He lifts the war hatchet or club; but as soon as it is taken up, the head chief and counsel-

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lors may interpose, and by their prudent counsel stop it. If the head warriour persists and goes out, he is followed by all who are for war. It is seldom a town is unanimous: the nation never is; and within the memory of the oldest men among them, it is not recollected that more than one half of the nation have been for war at the same time; or, as they express it, "*taken the war talk.*" The head warriour, when he marches, gives notice where he shall encamp, and sets out with one or two only; he fires his gun, and sets up the war whoop. This is repeated by all who follow him, and they are, during one or two nights, marching off. Parched corn and jerked meat, constitute the warriour's provisions while on the expedition.

Peace is determined on and concluded by the head chief and his counsellors, and "*peace talks*" are always addressed to them. In some cases, when the resentment of the warriours runs high, the chief and his counsellors have been much embarrassed.

Murder. If murder be committed, the family of the deceased only, have the right of taking satisfaction; they collect, consult and decree. The rulers of a town or of the nation, have nothing to do or say in the business. The relations of the deceased person consult first among themselves, and if the case is clear, and their family not likely to suffer by the division, they determine on the case definitively. When their tribe may be affected by it, or in a doubtful case, or an old claim for satisfaction, the family consult the tribe, and when they have resolved on having redress, they take the guilty, if he

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is to be found, and if he flies, they take the nearest of kin. In some cases, the family who have done the injury, promise reparation; and in that case, they are allowed a reasonable time to fulfil their promise, and they are generally quite earnest of themselves in their endeavours to put the guilty to death, in order to save an innocent person. This right of judging and taking satisfaction, being vested in the family, or tribe, is the sole cause why their treaty stipulations never have been executed. A prisoner taken in war, is the property of the captor to kill or save, at the time of capture, and this right must be purchased.

The Ceremony of initiating Youth into Manhood.

At the age of from fifteen to seventeen years, this ceremony is usually performed. They take two handfuls of a very bitter root, and eat it during a whole day; then they steep the leaves and drink the water. In the dusk of the evening they eat two or three spoonfuls of boiled corn. This is repeated for four days, and during this time they remain in a house. On the fifth day they go out, but must put on a pair of new mocasons. During twelve moons, they abstain from eating bucks, except old ones, and from turkey cocks, fowls, bears and salt. During this period, they must not pick their ears, or scratch their heads, with their fingers, but use a small stick. For four moons, they must have a fire to themselves to cook their food with; the fifth moon, any person may cook for them, but they must serve themselves first, and use one spoon

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and pan. Every new moon they drink, for four days, a decoction of the button snakeroot, an emetick, and abstain from all food except in the evening, when they are permitted to eat a little boiled corn. The twelfth moon they perform for four days, what they commenced with on the first four days; the fifth day they come out of their house, gather corn cobs, burn them to ashes, and with these, rub their bodies all over. At the end of the moon, they undergo a profuse perspiration in the sweat house; then go into the water, and thus ends the ceremony. This ceremony is sometimes extended only to four, six or eight months, or twelve days, but the course is the same, and it is always under the direction of the great leader.

War Physick. When young men are going to war, they go into a sweat house made for the purpose, and remain there four days, and drink tea made of bitter roots. The fourth day they come out, have their knapsacks ready, and march. The knapsack is an old blanket, and contains some parched corn flour, jerked meat, and leather to patch their mocasons with. They have in their shot bags, a charm, a protection against all ills, called the "*war physick*" or "*war medicine*," composed of the bones of the snake and the wild cat. The traditionary account of this physick, is, that in old times the wild cat or panther devoured their people; they set a trap for him, and caught him in it, burned him and preserved his bones. The snake was in the water; the old people sang, and he shewed himself; they sang again, and he shewed himself a little out of the water; the third time he shewed his horns, and they

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cut off one of them; he shewed himself a fourth time, and they cut off the other horn. A piece of these horns, and the bones of the wild cat or panther, is the great war medicine.

Marriage. A man who wants a wife, never applies in person; he sends his sister, mother, or some other female to the female relations of the woman he names. They consult the brothers and uncles on the maternal side, and sometimes the father, but this is only a compliment, as his approbation or opposition is of no avail. If the party applied to, approve of the match, they answer accordingly to the woman who maked the application. The bridegroom then gets together a blanket, and such other articles of clothing as he is able to spare, sometimes a horse, and sends them by the woman to the females of the family of the bride. If they accept of them, the match is made, and the man may go to the house as soon as he chooses; and when he has built a house, made his crop and gathered it in, made his hunt and brought home the meat, and put all this in the possession of his wife, the ceremony ends; they are married; or, as they express it, "the woman is bound." The appellation is, "the woman that lives with me," or "the mother of my children." The law has been understood differently by some, who insist that when they have assisted the woman to plant their crop, the ceremony ends, and the woman is bound. A man seldom or never marries in his own tribe.

Divorce. This is at the choice of either of the parties. The man may marry again as soon as he will, but the woman cannot during the continu-

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ance of the yearly sacrifice, which lasts about twelve days. Marriage gives no right to the husband over the property of his wife, and when they part, she keeps the children, and the property belonging to them and to her. Not unfrequently they take away every thing the husband owns, his hunting equipage only excepted.

Adultery is punished by the family and tribe of the husband. They collect, consult and decree.—If they determine to punish the offenders, they usually divide and proceed to apprehend them; one half of them go to the house of the woman, and the other to the family house of the man, or they go together, as they have decreed. They apprehend them, beat them severely with sticks, cut off their noses, and sometimes crop them, and cut off the hair of the woman, which they carry home in triumph. If both parties escape, and those in pursuit return home and lay down their weapons, the crime is satisfied; if they apprehend but one of the offenders, and the other escape, they take satisfaction from the nearest of kin. This crime is satisfied in another way; if the parties offending, absent themselves till the yearly sacrifice is over, then all crimes are buried in oblivion, murder excepted; and the mention of them, on any occurrence which brings them into recollection, is forbidden.

Sacrifices and Thanksgivings. The Indians have two sacrifices in each year. The principal festival is celebrated in the month of August; the precise time is fixed by the head chief and the counsellors of the town, and takes place sooner or later, as the state of the affairs of the town, or the forwardness

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of the corn will admit. It is called the green corn dance; or, more properly speaking, "the ceremony of thanksgiving for the first fruits of the earth."—It lasts from four to twelve days, and in some places resembles a large camp meeting. The Indians attend from all quarters with their families, their tents and provisions, encamping around the council or worshipping house. The animals killed for the sacrifice are cleaned, the heads, horns and entrails are suspended on a large white pole, with a forked top, which extends over the roof of the house.—The women having prepared the new corn and provisions for the feast, the men take first some of the new corn, rub it between their hands, then on their faces and breasts, and they feast, the great chief having first addressed the crowd, thanking the Almighty for the return of the season, and giving such moral instruction to the people as may be proper for the time. On these occasions, the Indians are dressed in their best manner, and the whole nation attend, from the greatest to the smallest. The quantity of provisions collected is immense, every one bringing in proportion to his ability. The whole is cast into one pile, and distributed during the continuance of the feast among the multitude, by leaders appointed for that purpose. In former times, the festival was held in the highest veneration, and was a general amnesty, which not only absolved the Indians from all punishments for crimes, murder only excepted, but seemed to bury guilt itself in oblivion. There are no people more frequent or fervent in their acknowledgments of

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gratitude to God. Their belief in him is universal, and their confidence so strong that it is quite astonishing.

VOCABULARY *of the* LANGUAGE *of the* SHAWANOESE.

One, Negote.
Two, Neshwa.
Three, Nithese.
Four, Newe.
Five, Nialinwe.
Six, Negotewathwe.
Seven, Neshwathwe.
Eight, Sashekswa.
Nine, Chakatswe.
Ten, Metathwe.
Eleven, Metathwe, kitenegote.
Twelve, Metathwe, kiteneshwa.
Thirteen, Metathwe, kitenithwa.
Fourteen, Metathwe, kitenewa.
Fifteen, Metathwe, kitenealenwe.
Sixteen, Metathwe, kitenegotewathwe.
Seventeen, Metathwe, kiteneshwathwe.
Eighteen, Metathwe, kitensashekswa.
Nineteen, Metathwe, kitenchakatswe.
Twenty, Neeshwateetueke.
Thirty, Nithwabetueke.
Forty, Newabetueke.
Fifty, Nialinwabetueke.
Sixty, Negotewashe.
Seventy, Neshwashe,
Eighty, Swashe.

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Ninety, Chaka.
One hundred, Tepawa.
Two hundred, Neshwa-tepawa.
Three hundred, Nithwa-tepawa.
Four hundred, Newe-tepawa.
Five hundred, Nialinwe-tepawa.
Six hundred, Negotewathwe-tepawa.
Seven hundred, Neshwathwe-tepawa.
Eight hundred, Sashekswa-tepawa.
Nine hundred, Chakatswe-tepawa.
One thousand, Metathwe-tepawa.
Two thousand, Neshina Metathwe-tepawa.
Three thousand, Nethina Metathwe-tepawa.
Four thousand, Newena Metathwe-tepawa.
Five thousand, Nialinwa Metathwe-tepawa.
Dog, Weshe.
Horse, Meshewa.
Cow, Methotho.
Sheep, Meketha.
Hog, Kosko.
Cat, Posetha.
Turkey, Pelewa.
Deer, Peshikthe.
Racoon, Ethepate.
Bear, Muga.
Otter, Kitate.
Mink, Chaquiweshe.
Wild Cat, Peshewa.
Panther, Meshepeshe.
Buffalo, Methotho.
Elk, Wabete.
Fox, Wawakotchethe.
Muskrat, Oshasqua.

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Beaver, Amaghqua.
Swan, Wabethe.
Goose, Neeake.
Duck, Sheshepuk.
Fish, Amatha.
Canoe, Olagashe.
Big Vessel, Misheolagashe.
Paddle, Shumaghtee.
Saddle, Apapewee.
Bridle, Saketonebetcheka.
Man, Elene.
Woman, Equiwa.
Boy, Skillewaythetha.
Girl, Squithetha.
Child, Apetotha.
My Wife, Neewa.
Your Wife, Keewa.
My Husband, Wysheana.
Your Husband, Washetche.
My Father, Notha.
Your Father, Kotha.
My Mother, Neegah.
Grandmother, Cocumtha.
My Sister, Neeshematha.
My Brother, Neethetha.
My Daughter, Neetanetha.
Old Man, Pashetotha.
Young Man, Meaneleneh.
Chief, Okema.
Great Chief, Kitchokema.
Soldier, Shemagana.
Hired Man, Alolagatha.

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Englishman, { By the Ottawas, Sagonas.
By the Shawanoese, Englishmanake.

Frenchman, Tota.
American, Shemanese, or big Knives.
The Lake, Kitchecame.
The Sun, Kesathwa.
The Moon, Tepethkakesathwa.
The Stars, Alagwa.
The Sky, Menquotwe.
Clouds, Pasquawke.
The Rainbow, Quaghcunnega.
Thunder, Unemake.
Lightning, Papapanawe.
Rain, Gimewane.
Snow, Cone.
Wind, Wishekuanwe.
Water, Nipe.
Fire, Scoote.
Cold, Wepe.
Warm, Aquetteta.
Ice, M'Quama.
The Earth, Ake.
The Trees, or the Woods, Metequeghke.
The Hills, Moqueghke.
Bottom Ground, Alwameke.
Prairie, Tàwaskote.
River, Sepe.
Small Stream, Thebowithe.
Pond, Miskeque.
Wet Ground, or Swamp, Miskekopke.
Good Land, Wesheasiske.
Poor Land, Melcheasiske.

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House, Wigwa.
Council House, Takatchemoke Wigwa.
The Great Spirit, or Good Spirit, Wishemenetoo.
The Bad Spirit, or the Devil, Matchemenetoo.
Dead, Nepwa.
Alive, Lenawawe.
Sick, Aghqueloge.
Well, Weshelashamamo.
Corn, Dame.
Wheat, Cawasque.
Beans, Miscoochethake.
Potatoes, Meashethake.
Turnips, Openeake.
Pumpkins, Wabego.
Mellons, Usketomake.
Onions, Shekagosheke.
Apples, Meshemenake.
Nuts, Pacanu.
Nut, Pacan.
Gun, Metequa.
Axe, Tecaca.
Tomahawk, Cheketecaca.
Knife, Manese.
Powder, Macate.
Lead, Alwe.
Flints, Shakeka.
Trap, Naquaga.
Hat, Petacowa.
Shirt, Peleneca.
Blanket, Aquewa.
Handkerchief, Pethewa.
Pair of Leggins, Metetawawa.
Eggs, Wawale.

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Meat, Weothe.
Salt, Nepepimma.
Bread, Taquana.
Kettle, Acohqua.
Sugar, Melassa.
Tea, Shiskewapo.
Medicine, Chobeka.
I am very Sick, Olame,ne,tagh,que,loge.
I am very Well, Ne,wes,he,la,sha,ma,mo.
A fine Day, Was,he,kee,she,ke.
A cloudy Day, Mes,quet,wee.
My Friend, Ne,cana.
My Enemy, Mat,che,le,ne,tha,tha.
The Great Spirit is the Friend of the Indians, Newecanetepa, Weshemanitoo.
Let us always do Good, Weshecatweloo, Keweshelawaypa.

Specimen of the WYANDOT *Language.*

One, Scat.
Two, Tin,dee.
Three, Shaight.
Four, An,daght.
Five, Wee,ish.
Six, Wau,shau.
Seven, Soo,tare.
Eight, Au,tarai.
Nine, Ain,tru.
Ten, Augh,sagh.
Twenty, Ten,deit,a,waugh,sa.
Thirty, Shaigh,ka,waugh,sa.
Forty, An,dagh,ka,waugh,sa.

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Fifty, Wee,ish,a,waugh,sa.
Sixty, Wau,shau,waugh,sa.
Seventy, Soo,tare,waugh,sa.
Eighty, Au,tarai,waugh,sa.
Ninety, Ain,tru,waugh,sa.
One hundred, Scute,main,gar,we.
God, Ta,main,de,zue.
Good, Ye,waugh,ste.
Bad, Waugh,she.
Devil, or Bad Spirit, Degh,shu,re,noh.
Heaven, Ya,roh,nia.
Hell, Degh,shunt.
Sun, Ya,an,des,hra.
Moon, Waugh,sunt,ya,an,des,hra.
Stars, Tegh,shu.
Sky, Cagh,ro,niate.
Clouds, Oght,se,rah.
Wind, Izu,quas.
It Rains, Ina,un,du,se.
Thunder, Heno.
Lightning, Tim,men,di,quas.
Earth, Umaitsagh.
Deer, Ough,scan,oto.
Bear, Anu,e.
Racoon, Ha,in,te,roh.
Fox, The,na,in,ton,to.
Beaver, Soo,taie.
Mink, So,hoh,main,dia.
Turkey, Daigh,ton,tah.
Squirrel, Ogh,ta,eh.
Otter, Ta,wen,deh.
Dog, Yun,ye,noh.
Cow, Kin,ton,squa,ront.

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Horse, Ugh,shut,te, or Man Carrier.
Goose, Yah,hounk.
Duck, Yu,in,geh.
Man, Ain,ga,hon.
Woman, Uteh,ke.
Girl, Ya,weet,sen,tho.
Boy, Oma,int,sent,e,hah.
Child, Che,ah,hah.
Old Man, Ha,o,tong.
Old Woman, Ut,sin,dag,sa.
My Wife, Azut,tun,oh,oh.
Corn, Nay,hah.
Beans, Yah,e,sah.
Potatoes, Da,ween,dah.
Mellons, or Pumpkins, O,nugh,sa.
Grass, E,ru,ta.
Weeds, Ha,en,tan.
Trees, Ye,aron,ta.
Wood, O,tagh,ta.
House, Ye,anogh,sha.
Gun, Who,ra,min,ta.
Powder, T'egh,sta.
Lead, Ye,at,ara.
Flints, Ta,wegh,ske,ra.
Knife, We,ne,ash,ra.
Axe, Otto,ya,ye.
Blanket, Deengh,tat,sea.
Kettle, Ya,yan,e,tih.
Rum, We,at,se,wie.
Meat, Oh,wagh,tha.
River, Ye,an,da,wa.
Bread, Da,ta,rah.
Dollar, Sogh,ques,tut.

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Shirt, Catureesh.
Leggins, Ya,ree.
Bell, Te,ques,ti,egh,tas,ta.
Saddle, Quagh,she,ta.
Bridle, Cong,shu,ree.
Fire, Seesta.
Flour, Ta,ish,rah.
Hog, Quis,quesh.
Big House, Ye,a,nogh,shu,wan,a.
Cornfield, Ya,yan,quagh,ke.
Muskrat, So,he,ash,i,ya,hah.
Cat, Dush,rat.
Wild Cat, Skaink,qua,hah.
Mole, Ca,in,dia,he,nugh,qua.
Snake, Tu,en,gen,seek.
Frog, Sun,day,wa,shu,ka.
Americans, Sa,ray,u,migh, or Big Knives.
Englishmen, Qu,han,stro,no.
Frenchmen, Tu,hugh,car,o,no.
My Brother, Ha,en,ye,ha.
My Sister, A,en,ya,ha.
Father, Ha,yes,ta.
Mother, Ane,heh.
Sick, Shat,wu,ra.
Well, Su,we,regh,he.
Cold, Ture,a.
Warm, Ote,re,a,ute.
Snow, De,neh,ta.
Ice, Deesh,ra.
Water, Sa,un,dus,tee.
Friend, Ne,at,a,rugh.
Enemy, Ne,mat,re,zue.
War, Tre,zue.

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Peace, Scan,o,nie.

Are you Married, Scan,dai,ye.

Am not Married yet, Augh,sogh,a,sonte,te-sandai,ge.

Come here, Owha,he.

Go away, Sa,cati,arin,ga.

You trouble me, Ska,in,gan,tagh,qua.

I am afraid, I,agh,ka,ron,se.

I love you, Yu,now,moi,e.

I hate you, Yung,squa,his.

I go to war, Ayagh,kee.

I love peace, Eno,moigh,an,dogh,sken,onie.

I love all men, Away,tee,ken,omie.

I have conquered my enemy, Onegh,e,ke,wish,e,noo.

I don't like white men, Icar,tri,zue,egh,sta,hartaken,ome,enumah.

Indians, I,om,when.

Negro, Ahon,e,see.

Prisoner, Yan,dah,squa.

He is a thief, Run,neh,squa,hoon.

Good Man, Room,wae,ta,wagh,stee.

Fish, Ye,ent,so.

Plums, At,su,meghst.

Apples, Sow,se,wat.

Fruit, Ya,heeghk.

Salt, Anu,magh,ke,he,one; or white people's Sugar.

Sugar, Se,ke,ta.

Honey, the same.

Bees, Un,dagh,quont.

Mocasin, Araghshu.

How do you do, Tu,ough,qua,no,u.

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I am sorry, I,ye,et,sa,tigh.

I am hungry, Yat,o,regh,shas,ta.

You will be filled, E,sagh,ta,hah.

I am dying, E,hy,e,ha,hongz.

God forgive me, Ho,ma,yen,de,zuti,et,te,rang.

Auglaize River, Qus,quas,run,dee, or the falling timber on the river.

Blanchard's fork of the Auglaize, Quegh,tu,wa, or claws in the water.

Sandusky, Sa,anduste, or water within water pools.

Muskingum, Da,righ,quay, a place of residence.

Cayuhago, Ya,sha,hìa, or the place at the wing.

Miami of the Lake, Cagh,a,ren,du,te, or standing rock.

The sea of salt water, Yung,ta,rez,ue.

The Lakes, Yung,ta,rah.

Detroit, Yon,do,tia, or Great Town.

Defiance, Tu,en,da,wie, or at the junction of two rivers.

Chillicothe, Tat,a,ra,ra, or leaning bank.

Cincinnati, Tu,ent,a,hah,e,whagh,ta, the landing, or place where the road leaves the river.

Ohio, O,he,zuh, or something great.

Mississippi, Yan,da,we,zue, or the great river.

NAMES *of the* RIVERS *by the* SHAWANOESE.

Ohio, *Kiskepila Sepe*, from *Kiskepila* an eagle, and *Sepe* a river.

Kenaway, meaning, having whirlpools, or swallowing up; some have it that an evil spirit lived in

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the water which drew substances to the bottom of the river.

Scioto, was named by the Wyandots who formerly lived on it—signification unknown.

Great Miamee, *Shimeamee Sepe*, or Big Miamee.

Little Miamee, *Chekemeamee Sepe*, or Little Miamee.

Muskingum, is a Delaware word, and means a town on the river side. The Shawanoese call it *Wakitamo Sepe*, which has the same signification.

Hockhocking, is a Delaware name, and means a bottle. The Shawanoese have it *Weathakaghqua*, or Bottle River.

Auglaize River, *Cowthenake Sepe*, or falling timber river.

Saint Mary's, *Cokotheke Sepe*, or Kettle River.

Miamee of the Lake, *Ottowa Sepe*, or Ottowa River. The Ottawas resided on this river from time immemorial.

Blanchard's fork of the Auglaize, *Shupsquate Sepe*, or the Taylor's Creek. It seems that Blanchard was a taylor, or a man that sewed; he was a native of France, intermarried with a Shawanoese woman, and after living here thirty years, died in 1802, at or near where fort Findlay now stands.—He has now living at *Wapaghkonetta*, seven children, four sons and three daughters, half breeds.

Hog Creek. Another branch of the Auglaize, from *Koske*, a hog, and *Sepe*, a river, i. e. Hog River. Where McKee, the British agent, resided on the head waters of Mad River; expecting an invasion from the United States troops, he sent his hogs

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here, under the charge of Indians, and hence the name of the Creek.

Sandusky River, named by the Wyandots, who have it Sondusky, i. e. water. The Shawanoese call it *Potake Sepe*, a rapid River.

Detroit Strait, or River, *Kekacamege*, the narrow passage or strait.

Kentucky, is a Shawanoese word, and signifies, at the head of a River. Kentucky River was formerly much used by the Shawanoese in their migrations north and south; hence the whole country took its name.

Licking River, *Nepepenime Sepe*, from *Nepepenime*, Salt, and *Sepe*, River, i. e. Salt River.

Mad River, *Athene Sepe*, flat or smooth stone River.

Cumberland River, *Maquehoque Sepe*, which signifies a tree with a large knot, or excrescence.—This tree grew on the Indians' leading path at the crossing place. It became the practice with all those who passed this way to whistle, and so pass round the tree; few, however, could pass round in one breath, the circumference of it was so great.

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MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

CONJECTURES *respecting the* ANCIENT INHABITANTS *of* NORTH AMERICA. By MOSES FISKE, Esq. of Hilham, Tennessee.

Communicated to the PRESIDENT *of the* AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

THE world has been repeatedly entertained with accounts of structures in this Western Country, raised by some ancient people, of whom nothing is known, either from the tomes of history or the tongue of tradition; but the subject is not yet exhausted. Gleanings remain which may be worthy of attention.

The laboured mounds and fortifications so well described, though the most prominent, are not the only relicks to be inspected. In Tennessee, my principal range of observation, they abound; of different sizes and forms; some regular, others not so; and all impaired by the ravages of time.

Of the two species of mounds, the minor, shaped somewhat like a cone, or rather like a hemisphere, are pertinently called barrows or bone heaps. But the more magnificent sort, which are mostly square or oblong, with a flat top, seem contrived for a different purpose. They may have been castles.—Possibly their use was, to give eminence to temples or to town houses.

If some of them contain bones, so do some cathedrals. We may even find it a common circumstance, without being obliged to suppose them

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originally designed, either solely or chiefly as places of interment. It was probably a special honour to be buried there, conferred only on certain favourites; or a practice in peculiar exigences.

Nor must we mistake the ramparts or fortifications for farming enclosures. What people, savage or civilized, ever fenced their grounds so preposterously? They bear no proportion in size to the quantity of land necessary for tillage. And, farther, there were many neighbourhoods that had no such accommodations.

But what settles the question conclusively, is, that the areas encompassed by these ramparts, were chiefly occupied by dwelling houses and mounds. The houses generally stood in rows, nearly contiguous to each other, with an interval between the rows for a narrow street, though sometimes they stood irregularly.

They are indicated by rings of earth, from three to five fathoms in diameter, ten or twenty inches in height, and a yard or more broad; not always circular, some which I have noticed being square or oblong. The flooring of some is elevated above the common surface, that of others is depressed.—The tokens are indubitable. Such rings overspread the country, some scattered and solitary, but oftener in groups. Villages were numerous with and without fortifications. But their domicils appear only on fertile grounds, at least, as far as I have been able to examine. And this seems to intimate, that agriculture was considered as an indispensable pursuit; but that they did not practise manuring.

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Potters' ware they had in profusion, of various shapes and sizes, from that of a thumb bottle to that of a salt boiler. Whole vessels are sometimes found; but more frequently fragments.

The clay of which they were formed, was generally mixed with shells, burnt and pounded, muscle shells and others from the rivers, doubtless to increase their firmness and durability.

From thick pieces lying about licks, it is apprehended, that they knew how to supply themselves with salt.

Stone utensils too are discovered; axes, spikes, mortars, pounders, plates; some rudely wrought, some of better workmanship. But iron was unknown. Those who can manufacture iron, will not cut wood with a flint. Besides, the smelting of that metal requires stone work. And where was the furnace? Where any structure of stone?—Those ancients appear to have been unacquainted with its ordinary uses. Not a chimney is seen, nor an oven; nor the ruins of any bridge, or dam, or well, or cellar, or wall of rocks; no masonry, however rude, either of stone or of brick.

By way of exception, I have to state, that I have seen one mound, the sides of which present a very loose laid wall of flat stones, chiefly tumbled down; and I am informed of another, done in a better style. There may be many others. Flat rocks were used in sepulture. They did not always raise tumuli over their dead. There are many burying grounds in West Tennessee with regular graves. They dug them twelve or eighteen inches deep; placed slabs at the bottoms, ends, and sides, forming a kind of stone coffin, and after laying in the body,

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covered it over with earth. Many caves, with which this country abounds, were used as repositories of the dead. In some of these vaults, the parts of the skeletons were left promiscuously. In one, I found bones enveloped with incrustations of stone.

In 1810, two bodies, one of a man, and the other of a child six or eight years of age, were dug up in Warren county in this State, wrapped in deer skins, and clothes of a singular texture, some of linen, and some of tree bark twine and feathers, with other articles, chiefly about the child; in a state of preservation like mummies, retaining their nails and hair, with their skins entire, though decayed, discoloured and tender. I speak of the man from information, he having been reburied before I visited the place.

I am inclined to the opinion, that these bodies belonged to the ancient people of whom I have spoken.

1. It seems as difficult to explain how bodies recently buried should assume such an appearance, as it would be if they were deposited ten centuries ago. Certainly they had escaped the common process of putrefaction. Their flesh seems to have dried and wasted away by a kind of evaporation.

2. After a view of the condition in which they were found, no reason occurs, why they may not have remained unaltered, or nearly so, a thousand years past. They lay in a chamber, half way up a steep hill, under a large projected roof of rocks, buried a yard deep in a bed of dry earth, which contains a strong mixture of copperas, allum and nitre, and I believe of sulphur; where perhaps no water has intruded since the general deluge.

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3. I am not apprized that the modern Indians, or indeed moderns of any description, manufacture similar cloths.

4. There were ancient habitations in the neighbourhood, and no modern dwellings belonging to the natives, within several days' journey. Most of the caverns, so numerous in this calcareous country, were used by that primitive nation for sepulchres, in which various relicks are found, such as bows and arrows, poles cut off with flint stones, clay ware, fishing nets, cloths, mats, fragments of baskets differently preserved, according to the state and qualities of the circumambient air and earth.

5. The basket used as a coffin for the child, made of split cane, and now in my possession, appears to have been wrought without the help of an edge tool, though of good workmanship. But modern Indians have knives.

And, finally, as the variety of articles buried with the bodies, in particular that of the child, announces superior rank, we should, from this circumstance, naturally expect, had they been members of any tribe now in the country, to have found, if any thing, a few silver or other metallick ornaments upon them, as broaches, bracelets, noserings, earrings, or other fantastical trinkets, instead of ingenious feather cloths, fans and belts. Or, if there had been a belt, it would have been of wampum.

Like many people, those aboriginals, in their various methods of inhumation, deposited something of real or supposed value with the deceased. Perhaps they always did. The contrary cannot be asserted; as many of the articles might have been

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perishable. This practice assures us of their belief in a future existence.

But from what nation did those ancients derive their origin? How numerous were they? How long did they occupy these regions? When, and by what means, were they exterminated? Replies can be founded only in conjecture.

They must have been ignorant of letters. Otherwise, in a country of slate, they who fabricated utensils of the hardest flint, of which I have seen specimens, shaped and smoothed, as if wrought in a turner's lathe, would have left some inscriptions, some hieroglyphicks, or scratches, or scrawls, to be decyphered by posterity. Possibly such may yet be discovered.

It is absurd to suppose that they were Welsh.—We ought, at least, to observe some plausibility in assigning their pedigree to any particular nation. Welch Indians are creatures of the imagination. I met with people when I first came to the country, who had been among them. In what latitude or longitude we are still ignorant!

But, allow that there is such a horde of people somewhere in the west, which would be a very interesting discovery, yet it would furnish no answer to the question proposed. All Wales could not have furnished such a population as once inhabited this section of the country. Wales is a little nook of earth, not a quarter so large as the single state of Tennessee, and not a fiftieth part so large as the territory occupied by those ancient inhabitants, who cannot be estimated at less than millions.

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To determine the extent of their settlements, will require the accumulated results of much indefatigable research. But this might probably eventuate in further discoveries concerning the other topicks of inquiry.

From the immense number of their dwellings, and the large tracts which they must have reduced to a state of cultivation, as well as from their numerous publick works, we may compute the term of their residence here at several centuries. But whether less or more, it is probably a full millenium, certainly half an one, since their extinction.

Nothing satisfactory, as far as I can ascertain, is gathered from the modern Indians about them; though these tribes have been in possession of the country for ages, and are a credulous race, who would rather have exaggerated than impaired any tradition respecting the ancient people.

But the growth of trees is a more definite criterion. Some of the Methuselahs of the forest stand within these very mansions; on the wall of a fort; upon the top of a mound; in the centre of a house. And I have seen them in such situations, sprung from a heap of earth composed of the remains of a former growth. In such cases, the present is, at least, the second generation of trees. Woodsmen are too well acquainted with these indications to be deceived, or in doubt. Three hundred years for each is a moderate calculation. I have counted three hundred and fifty concentrick layers in a poplar, (loriodendron.) I presume, upwards of fifty were lost by internal decay. This rule of chronology is recognized in courts of judicature, in deciding contests about landmarks. If doubtful, it ought to be

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ascertained. If correct, these places were vacated at least five or six centuries ago.

But what became of the tenants? If they were conquered, Where are the victors? Or suppose separate nations contending for each other's destruction, still there must have been a surviving power. And these survivors would be the lords of the soil. Would they have lost the well known arts, especially agriculture, pottery and salt making—arts so easy to preserve, and so necessary? And to imagine that the whole people became extinct by pestilence, or some other awful catastrophe, is an extravagant hypothesis, not supported by any precedent in the annals of mankind.

The conjecture, that they migrated to Mexico, seems quite plausible. This seems to harmonize with all known facts. But to suppose them refugees from Mexico, is a supposition altogether inadmissible.

The subject generally is one that precludes the hope of a full developement. But progress may be made by an active examination and comparison of facts and circumstances. And we can yet anticipate something from farther discoveries.

It is to be regretted, that these ancient ruins and relicks have been exposed to so much depredation. Valuable articles are *lost* by being *found*. The finest specimen of statuary, that I have heard of in the country, was knocked to pieces, to ascertain what sort of stone it was made of. It was the bust of a man, holding a bowl with a fish in it, and was constructed of a species of marble.

Hilham, Tennessee, April 8, 1815.

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Antiquities *and* Curiosities *of* Western Pennsylvania.

Addressed to the President of the American Antiquarian Society, *by the Rev.* Timothy Alden, *President of Alleghany College, and one of the Counsellors of the Society.*

Meadville, Penn. 18*th February*, 1820.

Dear Sir,

UNDER the caption of *Antiquities and Curiosities of Western Pennsylvania*, I purpose, as opportunity may offer, to prepare sundry communications for the Society.

By *Western Pennsylvania*, may be understood that part of the Commonwealth which lies west of the Alleghany mountain and its neighbouring parallel ridges. In this region, a few years since the haunt of savages and of beasts of prey, the settlements and improvements made by hardy and enterprising emigrants from Europe and the eastern states, though grateful to the eye of the traveller and the patriot, exhibit nothing which bears the venerable stamp of Antiquity; yet, in consonance with the design of our Institution, some concise notices of these will be expected, in connexion with descriptions of natural and artificial curiosities, little known, and of the vestiges of our Gallick predecessors, of the Indian tribes, and of a race of men skilled in martial tacticks, the old Aurunci* of the American wilderness.

* Virgil.

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In the present paper, however, merely a brief account of several objects, in the extensive field I have presumed to enter, deemed worthy of the attention of the Antiquary, will be attempted.

Remains of Ancient Fortifications. Of these there are some specimens in this quarter. Having in a former publication,* offered a few remarks on these interesting traces of a warlike people, which once overspread not a small portion of North America, and probably held their dominion for ages prior to any inroads made by the ancestors of our reputed aboriginal preoccupants, this article is introduced, principally to state, that within four miles of Meadville, and below the town, are the remains of seven artificial works, of unknown date, which have a martial aspect. These are mostly on the eastern bottoms of French Creek, and are of different dimensions. The smallest encircles not more than half an acre; the largest six or seven acres; the rest are of intermediate sizes. One of these is on the height of land, nearly a mile from the creek, on the eastern side; and at a few rods distance from it there is the appearance of several redoubts. Two of these works, of small extent, are on the western side of French Creek, half a mile from it on elevated land, one on each side of Van Horne's Run, opposite to each other, and not far apart. They all consist of a bank of earth, which, after the lapse of ages, is about two feet high and three or four wide, and which was evidently thrown up from an external ditch. In the vicinity of one

* Alden's Collection.

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of these works, on the eastern side of French Creek, is a tumulus, which, before it was lowered by the plough, was about eight feet high. On examining this, some bones and stone arrow points have been found.

The Rocks. On a rise of land, perhaps two hundred feet above the low water mark of French Creek, is a place known by this name. It consists of an extensive body of sand stone, of which there are many valuable quarries in Western Pennsylvania, and is one mile northeasterly from Meadville. It is a spot of occasional resort for the curious, and is worthy of notice from the numerous irregular vertical rents, in all directions, separating large masses of the once solid rock from one to several feet asunder; the effect, probably, of some tremendous explosion. Most of the fissures are filled with vegetable earth; but from one of them, kept perfectly clean, an excellent spring of water continually flows. It is said that here exists a subterranean cave, forming a room of considerable magnitude, into which people have formerly entered, and which might again be found by removing obstructions from its avenue.

Seneca Oil. On the flats of Oil Creek, twenty-eight miles southeasterly from Meadville, many oblong pits have been dug several feet deep, from the bottom of which the Seneca oil, or petrolium, oozes and floats on the surface of the water, with which they are partially filled. Some of these are of unknown antiquity; and whether the work of the French, who, in the former part of the last century, had military establishments on our principal streams,

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or of that people, of whom no tradition has reached our times, but of whose judgment and skill in the art of fortifying there are numerous evidences, it is impossible to resolve.

By extending the operation, this oil, called by the Senecas, au-nŭs', might be collected so as to become a profitable article of commerce. Fifteen barrels were once taken, in one season from a single pit. It was formerly sold at two dollars a gallon. The common price is now one dollar fifty cents. It is one of the most penetrating liquids in nature. No wooden nor earthen vessel is impervious to it. Even glass, in which it has stood for some time, cannot be cleared of its scent. This oil is much esteemed for its efficacy in removing rheumatick complaints. It burns well in lamps, and might be advantageously used in lighting streets. If, by some process, it could be rendered inodorous, it would become an important article for domestick illumination.

Pit Hole. This is the name given to a mill stream in the northeasterly part of Venango county, forty miles from Meadville; from its proximity to a remarkable aperture, called by the Senecas, Yē-ŭnd-jau-koi-ĭnd, and which, in their language, signifies *ground hole.* This aperture is half a mile from Pit Hole Creek, and two miles from its junction with the Alleghany. It is about four feet in length and one in width, being the part still open of a fissure in a rock on a mountainous ridge. Its depth has never been ascertained, no sounding line having ever been used of sufficient length to reach the bottom, which is covered with water. Such is

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the nature of the air in this pit, that a wild turkey suspended in it by a hunter one evening, was, the next morning, in a state of putrefaction. Some of the Indians have told me that there is another aperture similar to this, on the height of land on the opposite easterly side of the Alleghany; and they suppose, yet, for what reason, I could not learn that the Yē-ŭnd-jau-koi-ĭnd extends, perhaps, three or four miles, under the bed of the river, from one spiraculum to the other.

Antediluvian Antiquities. Petrifactions are to be seen in various parts of Western Pennsylvania.—They are sometimes found on our most elevated land, but more frequently in ravines and along the shores of our creeks. They consist principally of different kinds of vegetable productions, occasionally interspersed with marine shells. Hickory nuts, hazel nuts, beech nuts, chesnuts, acorns, with periwinkles and snails, seem to have been kneaded together in parcels of argillaceous earth, and in that state to have undergone the petrifying process. It is worthy of special remark, that the several kinds of nuts are mostly found with their shells partially open, as if they had been affected by frost previously to their petrifaction. If these were the growth of the year in which the universal deluge commenced, as may reasonably be conjectured, every one would expect to see the chesnut burs and hickory nut shells exactly in the form in which these often appear; for, according to the scripture account, the flood is to be dated from the seventeenth day of the second month; and it is generally conceded that the patriarchal, or civil Jewish year, is intended,

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which began in September. The deluge, therefore, took place about the beginning of November; when, if the axis of the earth made the same angle with the ecliptick as it does at present, the frost must have been sufficient to produce the effect before noticed.

Letter from Dr. SAMUEL L. MITCHILL, *of Newyork, to* SAMUEL M. BURNSIDE, *Esq. Corresponding Secretary of the American Antiquarian Society.*

Newyork, January 13, 1817.

DEAR SIR,

IT was only since I became a member of the American Antiquarian Society, that I began to investigate, in earnest, the history of the people who inhabited America, before the arrival of our forefathers.

My opportunities, while I was a Senator in Congress, were very favourable to an acquaintance with the native tribes. By the decision of the Senate, I was for several years a sort of permanent chairman of the committee on Indian Affairs. I soon became convinced, that the opinions of the European historians and naturalists were so full of hypothesis and errour that they ought to be discarded. My faith in the transatlantick doctrines began to be shaken in 1805, when my intercourse with the Osages and Cherokees, led me to entertain of them very differ-

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ent opinions from those I had derived from the books I had read.

Specimens of their poetry may be seen in paper No. I. hereunto annexed.

The publication to which you refer in your letter of the first instant, is that which appeared in the Analectic Magazine for September, 1815. This was a letter really addressed to you, as a manifestation of my respect; and was written immediately after the examination of a mummy from Kentucky, infinitely more interesting to an American than the mummies of Egypt. I refer you to this, as published in the before mentioned literary journal, and beg you to consider it as paper No. II.

The extract from volume eighteen, of the Medical Repository, herewith forwarded, with a description of the mummy and its wrappers, may be considered as paper No. III. in this series.

My letters to Dewitt Clinton, LL.D. is the next of these pieces. Though it has had a great run in the periodical publications, I have not a copy at hand. Be good enough to mark it as No. IV. in the collection.

Certain strictures having been published relative to the doctrines and opinions advanced, the reply to them by a student of Natural History, in Andrews's Chillicothe Recorder, is offered to you as paper No. V.

Lastly, the part of the introductory lecture which I delivered at Newyork, on opening my present annual course of Natural History, is herewith forwarded to you as paper No. VI.

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You will oblige me if you will consider all these pieces as respectfully offered to the American Antiquarian Society, and as worthy of being recorded in its archives. And it would gratify me more to see them preserved in their present form, than to new model and digest them into a single memoir. Now they are originals, shewing the progress of my mind in coming to the great conclusion, that the three races of Malays, Tartars, and Scandinavians, contribute to make up the American population.

Permit me to renew the assurance of my high and particular consideration.

SAMUEL L. MITCHILL.

No. I.

SPECIMEN *of the* POETRY *and* SINGING *of the* OSAGES.

The following was sung in the Osage tongue, at Dr. Mitchill's, in Washington; translated into French by Mr. Choteau, the interpreter; and rendered into English immediately, January 7, 1806.

I. Subject of the first, *friendship;* their journey to Washington, to have an interview with the President of the United States, and their satisfaction on meeting their Great Father.

1.

My comrades brave, and friends of note,
You hither came from lands remote,
To see your grand exalted Sire,
And his sagacious words admire.

2.

"The Master of your Life and Breath"*
Averted accidents and death;

* The Great Spirit, or Supreme Being, is called by several savage tribes, "The Master of Breath, or the Master of Life."

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That you might *such a sight* behold,
In spite of hunger, foes and cold.

3.

Ye Red Men! since ye here have been,
Your Great *White* Father ye have seen,
Who cheer'd his children with his voice,
And made their beating hearts rejoice.

4.

Thou Chief Osage! fear not to come,
And leave awhile thy sylvan home;
The path we pass'd is clear and free,
And wide and smoother grows for thee.

5.

Whene'er to march thou feel'st inclin'd,
We'll form a lengthening file behind;
And dauntless from our forests walk,
To hear our Great White Father's Talk.

II. Subject of the second, *War*. Wanapasha, the chief of the expedition, encourages his associates to despise death, and be daring and valiant in arms,

1.

Say warriours, why, when arms are sung,
And dwell on every native tongue,
Do thoughts of Death intrude?
Why weep the common lot of all?
Why think that you yourselves may fall
Pursuing or pursued?

2.

Doubt not your Wanapasha's* care,
To lead you forth, and shew you where
The enemy's conceal'd;
His single arm shall make th' attack,
And drive the sly invaders back,
Or stretch them on the field.

* This man died suddenly at Washington, a few nights after having sung this song to the translator.

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3.

Proceeding with embodied force,
No nations can withstand our course,
Or check our bold career;
Tho' if they knew *my warlike* Fame,
The terrors of *my form and name*,
They 'd quake, or die with fear.

To these specimens of Osage poetry, I subjoin two Cherokee songs of friendship. These consist of but one sentence each, with a chorus. Nothing of greater length seems to exist among them. They repeat the song and chorus until they are tired.— The words of both were written for me, by Mr. Hicks, a Cherokee of the half blood, with his own hand, both original and version, on the twentyfirst of December, 1805, in the presence of colonel Benjamin Hawkins, colonel R. J. Meigs, general Daniel Smith, of Tennessee, general Stephen R. Bradley, of Vermont, and Double Head, the famous warriour.

Neither among the Osages nor the Cherokees, could there be found a single poetical or musical sentiment, founded on the tender passion between the sexes. Though often asked, they produced no songs of love.

Song *the first.*

Can, nal, li, èh, ne-was-tu.
A friend you resemble.
Chorus. Yai, ne, noo, way. E,noo,way,hā.

Song *the second.*

Ti, nai, tau, nā, cla, ne-was-tu.
Brothers I think we are.
Chorus. Yai, ne, noo, way. E,noo,way,hā.

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No. II.

A Letter from Dr. MITCHILL, *of Newyork, to* SAMUEL M. BURNSIDE, *Esq. Secretary of the American Antiquarian Society, on North American Antiquities.*

August 24th, 1815.

DEAR SIR,

I offer you some observations on a curious piece of American antiquity, now in Newyork. It is a human body,* found in one of the lime stone caverns of Kentucky. It is a perfect exsiccation; all the fluids are dried up. The skin, bones, and other firm parts are in a state of entire preservation. I think it enough to have puzzled Bryant and all the Archæologists.

In exploring a calcareous chamber in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, for saltpetre, several human bodies were found enwrapped carefully in skins and cloths. They were inhumed below the floor of the cave; *inhumed*, and not lodged in catacombs.

These recesses, though under ground, are yet dry enough to attract and retain the nitrick acid. It combines with lime and potash; and probably the earthy matter of these excavations contains a good proportion of calcareous carbonate. Amidst these drying and antiseptick ingredients, it may be conceived that putrefaction would be stayed, and the solids preserved from decay.

The outer envelope of the body is a deer skin, probably dried in the usual way, and perhaps soft-

* A Mummy of this kind, of a person of mature age, discovered in Kentucky, is now in the Cabinet of the American Antiquarian Society. It is a female.

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ened before its application, by rubbing. The next covering is a deer skin, whose hair had been cut away by a sharp instrument, resembling a hatter's knife. The remnant of the hair, and the gashes in the skin, nearly resemble a sheared pelt of beaver. The next wrapper is of cloth, made of twine doubled and twisted. But the thread does not appear to have been formed by the wheel, nor the web by the loom. The warp and filling seem to have been crossed and knotted by an operation like that of the fabricks of the northwest coast, and of the Sandwich islands. Such a botanist as the lamented Muhlenburgh, could determine the plant which furnished the fibrous material.

The innermost tegument is a mantle of cloth like the preceding; but furnished with large brown feathers, arranged and fastened with great art, so as to be capable of guarding the living wearer from wet and cold. The plumage is distinct and entire, and the whole bears a near similitude to the feathery cloaks now worn by the nations of the northwestern coast of America. A Wilson might tell from what bird they were derived.

The body is in a squatting posture, with the right arm reclining forward, and its hand encircling the right leg. The left arm hangs down, with its hand inclined partly under the seat. The individual, who was a male, did not probably exceed the age of fourteen, at his death. There is a deep and extensive fracture of the skull, near the occiput, which probably killed him. The skin has sustained little injury; it is of a dusky colour, but the natural hue cannot be decided with exactness, from its present appearance. The scalp, with small exceptions, is covered with sor-

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red or foxy hair. The teeth are white and sound. The hands and feet, in their shrivelled state, are slender and delicate. All this is worthy the investigation of our acute and perspicacious colleague, Dr. Holmes.

There is nothing bituminous or aromatick in or about the body, like the Egyptian mummies, nor are there bandages around any part. Except the several wrappers, the body is totally naked. There is no sign of a suture or incision about the belly; whence it seems that the viscera were not removed.

It may now be expected that I should offer some opinion, as to the antiquity and race of this singular exsiccation.

First, then, I am satisfied that it does not belong to that class of white men of which we are members.

2dly. Nor do I believe that it ought to be referred to the bands of Spanish adventurers, who, between the years 1500 and 1600, rambled up the Missisippi, and along its tributary streams. But on this head I should like to know the opinion of my learned and sagacious friend, Noah Webster.

3dly. I am equally obliged to reject the opinion that it belonged to any of the tribes of aborigines, now or lately inhabiting Kentucky.

4thly. The mantle of feathered work, and the mantle of twisted threads, so nearly resemble the fabricks of the indigenes of Wakash and the Pacifick islands, that I refer this individual to that era of time, and that generation of men, which preceded the Indians of the Green River, and of the place where these relicks were found. This con-

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clusion is strengthened by the consideration that such manufactures are not prepared by the actual and resident red men of the present day. If the Abbe Clavigero had had this case before him, he would have thought of the people who constructed those ancient forts and mounds, whose exact history no man living can give. But I forbear to enlarge; my intention being merely to manifest my respect to the Society for having enrolled me among its members, and to invite the attention of its Antiquarians to further inquiry on a subject of such curiosity.

With respect, I remain yours,

SAMUEL L. MITCHILL.

No. III.

The Original Inhabitants of America consisted of the same Races with the Malays of Australasia, and the Tartars of the North.—MED. REPOS. Vol. 18, p. 187.

The information we derived from Messrs. Cassedy and Miller, of Tennessee, relative to the human bodies found in a copperas cave, near the Cany Branch of the Cumberland River, was very curious. (Medical Repository, vol. xv. p. 147.) Pieces of the cloths which inwrapped them are now preserved in Mr. Scudder's museum; and an exsiccated foot is also there. One piece of the fabrick is plain, and the other decorated with feathers.

Since that time other discoveries have been made. Thomas B. Monroe, Esq. during the year 1814, sent to Newyork an entire body, found in a

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saltpetrous cave, in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, in Kentucky. This was in the state of a dried preparation, in a squatting posture, with the right hand encircling the knee; it was wrapped in deer skins and artificial cloths. The latter are of two kinds—plain, and decorated with feathers. These pieces of antiquity were described in a letter written by Dr. Mitchill to Mr. Burnside, Secretary to the American Antiquarian Society, and recorded in the Analectick Magazine, for September, 1815.—Through the politeness of Hickson C. Field, Esq. we have been permitted to take a drawing of this relick of a former people. The representations both of the body and of the cloths infolding it, were executed by that distinguished naturalist, C. S. Rafinesque, Esq.

The fabricks accompanying the Kentucky bodies resembled very nearly those which encircled the mummies of Tennessee. On comparing the two sets of samples, they were ascertained to be as much alike as two pieces of dimity or diaper from different manufactories.

Other Antiquities of the same class have come to light. Mr. Gratz, of Philadelphia, the proprietor of the vast cavern figured and described in the Medical Repository, vol. xvii. pp. 391—393; has, very obligingly, sent to Dr. Mitchill other specimens of cloths, things made of those cloths, and raw materials, dug out of that unparalleled natural excavation. He forwarded, with the samples, a map of the cave, substantially like that which we had received before from Mr. Bogert; and confirming every thing therein stated. A parcel of

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these articles, now in Dr. Mitchill's possession, was accompanied with the following note—"There will be found in this bundle two mocasons, in the same state they were when dug out of the Mammoth Cave, about two hundred yards from its mouth. Upon examination, it will be perceived that they are fabricated out of different materials; one is supposed to be made of a species of *flag*, or *lily*, which grows in the southern parts of Kentucky; the other, of the bark of some tree, probably the *pappaw*.

"There are, also, in this packet, a part of what is supposed to be a *kinniconecke* pouch, two meshes of a fishing net, and a piece of what we suppose to be the raw material, and of which the fishing net, the pouch, and one of the mocasons are made. All of which were dug out of the Mammoth Cave, nine or ten feet under ground; that is, below the surface or floor of the cavern. You will find, likewise, two Indian beads, discovered in a cave, situated in the vicinity of the Mammoth Cave.

"We have, also, an Indian bowl, or cup, containing about a pint, cut out of wood, found also in the cave; and lately, there has been dug out of it the skeleton of a human body, enveloped in a matting similar to that of the *kinniconecke* pouch."

This matting is substantially like those of the plain fabrick, from the copperas cave of Tennessee, and the saltpetrous cavern, near Glasgow.

And, what is highly remarkable, and worthy the attention of every Antiquarian, is, that they all have a perfect resemblance to the fabricks of the Sandwich, the Caroline, and the Fegee islands.

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We know the similitude of the manufactured articles from the following circumstance :—After the termination of the war in the island of Toconroba, wherein certain citizens of the United States were engaged as principals or allies, many articles of Fegee manufacture were brought to Newyork by the victors. Some of them agree almost exactly with the fabricks discovered in Kentucky and Tennessee. They bear, on strict comparison, the marks of a similar state of the arts, and point strongly to a sameness of origin in the respective people that prepared them. Notwithstanding the distance of their several residences, at the present time, it is impossible not to look back to the common ancestry of the Malays who formerly possessed the country between the Alleghany mountains and the river Missisippi, and those who now inhabit the islands of the Pacifick ocean.

All these considerations lead to the belief, that colonies of Australasians, or Malays, landed in North America, and penetrated across the continent, to the region lying between the Great Lakes and the Gulph of Mexico. There they resided, and constructed the fortifications, mounds, and other ancient structures, which every person who beholds them admires.

What has become of them? They have probably been overcome by the more warlike and ferocious hordes that entered our hemisphere from the northeast of Asia. These Tartars of the higher latitudes have issued from the great hive of nations, and desolated, in the course of their migrations, the southern tribes of America, as they have done to

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those of Asia and Europe. The greater part of the present American natives are of the Tartar stock, the descendants of the hardy warriours who destroyed the weaker Malays that preceded them.—An individual of their exterminated race now and then rises from the tomb.

No. IV.

The Original Inhabitants of America shown to be of the same family and lineage with those of Asia, by a process of reasoning not hitherto advanced. By SAMUEL L. MITCHILL, M. D. *Professor of Natural History in the University of Newyork; in a communication to* DE WITT CLINTON, *Esq. President of the Newyork Philosophical Society, dated*

Newyork, March 31, 1816.

The view which I took of the varieties of the human race, in my course of Natural History, delivered in the University of Newyork, differs in so many particulars from that entertained by the great zoologists of the age, that I give you for information, and without delay, a summary of my yesterday's lecture to my class.

I denied, in the beginning, the assertion that the American aborigines were of a peculiar constitution, of a race *sui generis*, and of a copper colour. All these notions were treated as fanciful and visionary.

The indigenes of the two Americas appear to me to be of the same stock and genealogy with the inhabitants of the northern and southern Asia. The northern tribes were probably more hardy, fero-

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cious, and warlike than those of the south. The tribes of the lower latitudes seem to have been greater proficients in the arts, particularly of making cloths, clearing the ground, and erecting works of defence.

The parallel between the people of America and Asia, affords this important conclusion, that on both continents, the hordes dwelling in the higher latitudes have overpowered the more civilized, though feebler inhabitants of the countries situated towards the equator. As the Tartars have overrun China, so the Astecas subdued Mexico. As the Huns and Alans desolated Italy, so the Chippewas and Iroquoise prostrated the populous settlements on both banks of the Ohio.

The surviving race in these terrible conflicts between the different nations of the ancient native residents of North America, is evidently that of the Tartars. This opinion is founded upon four considerations.

1. The similarity of physiognomy and features. His excellency M. Genet, late minister plenipotentiary from France to the United States, is well acquainted with the faces, hues and figures of our Indians and of the Asiatick Tartars; and is perfectly satisfied of their mutual resemblance. Mons. Cazeaux, consul of France to Newyork, has drawn the same conclusion from a careful examination of the native man of North America and Northern Asia.

M. Smibert, who had been employed, as Josiah Meigs, Esq. now commissioner of the land office in the United States, relates, in executing paintings of

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Tartar visages, for the grand duke of Tuscany, was so struck with the similarity of their features to those of the Naraganset Indians, that he pronounces them members of the same great family of mankind.—The anecdote is preserved, with all its circumstances, in the fourteenth volume of the Medical Repository.

Within a few months I examined over and again seven or eight Chinese sailors, who had assisted in navigating a ship from Macoa to Newyork. The thinness of their beards, the bay complexion, the black lank hair, the aspect of the eyes, the contour of the face, and in short the general external character, induced every person who observed them, to remark, how nearly they resembled the Mohegans and Oneidas of Newyork.

Sidi Mellimelli, the Tunisian envoy to the United States, in 1804, entertained the same opinion, on beholding the Cherokees, Osages, and Miamies, assembled at the city of Washington, during his residence there. Their Tartar physiognomy struck him in a moment.

2. The affinity of their languages. The late learned and enterprising Professor Barton, took the lead in this curious inquiry. He collected as many words as he could from the languages spoken in Asia and America, and he concluded, from the numerous coincidences of sound and signification, that there must have been a common origin.

3. The existence of corresponding customs. I mean to state at present that of shaving away the hair of the scalp, from the fore part and sides of the

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head, so that nothing is left but a tuft or lock on the crown.

The custom of smoking the pipe, on solemn occasions, to the four cardinal points of the compass, to the heavens and to the earth, is reported upon the most credible authority, to distinguish equally the hordes of the Asiatick Tartars and the bands of the American Siaux.

4. The kindred nature of the Indian dogs of America, and the Siberian dogs of Asia.

The animal that lives with the natives of the two continents, as a dog, is very different from the tame and familiar creature of the same name in Europe. He is either a different species, or a wide variety of the same species. But the identity of the American and Asiatick curs is evinced by several considerations. Both are mostly white. They have shaggy coats, sharp noses, and erect ears. They are voracious, thievish, and to a considerable degree indomitable. They steal whenever they can, and sometimes turn against their masters. They are prone to snarl and grin, and they have a howl instead of barking. They are employed in both hemispheres for labour; such as carrying burthens, drawing sleds over the snow, and the like; being yoked and harnessed for the purpose, like horses.

This coincidence of our Indian dog with the *Canis Sibericus*, is a very important fact. The dog, the companion, the friend, or the slave of man, in all his fortunes and migrations, thus reflects great light upon the history of nations and of their genealogy.

II. The exterminated race in the savage intercourse between the nations of North America in an-

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cient days, appear clearly to have been that of the Malays.

The bodies, and shrouds, and clothing of these individuals, have, within a few years, been discovered in the caverns of saltpetre and copperas within the states of Kentucky and Tennessee. Their entire and exsiccated condition, has led intelligent gentlemen who have seen them, to call them *mummies*. They are some of the most memorable of the Antiquities that North America contains. The race or nation to which they belonged is extinct; but in preceding ages, occupied the region situated between lakes Ontario and Erie on the north, and the gulph of Mexico on the south, and bounded eastwardly by the Alleghany mountains, and westwardly by the Missisippi river.

That they were similar in their origin and character to the present inhabitants of the Pacifick islands and of Austral Asia, is argued from various circumstances.

1. The sameness of texture in the plain cloth or matting that enwraps the mummies, and that which our navigators bring from Wakash, the Sandwich islands, and the Fegees.

2. The close resemblance there is between the feathery mantles brought now a days from the islands of the South Sea, and those wrappers which surround the mummies lately disinterred in the western states. The plumes of birds are twisted or tied to the treads, with peculiar skill, and turn water like the back of a duck.

3. Meshes of nets, regularly knotted and tied, and formed of a strong and even twine.

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4. Mocasons, or coverings of the feet, manufactured with remarkable ability, from the bark or rind of plants, worked into a sort of stout matting.

5. Pieces of antique sculpture, especially of human heads and of some other forms, found where the exterminated tribes had dwelt, resembling the carving at Otaheite, New Zealand, and other places.

6. Works of defence, or fortifications, overspreading the fertile tract of country, formerly possessed by these people, who may be supposed capable of constructing works of much greater simplicity than the morais or burial places, and the hippas or fighting stages of the Society islands.

7. As far as observations have gone, a belief that the shape of the skull and the angle of the face, in the mummies, correspond with those of the living Malays.

I reject, therefore, the doctrine taught by the European naturalists, that the man of Western America differs in any material point from the man of Eastern Asia. Had the Robertsons, the Buffons, the Raynals, the De Pauwys, and the other speculators upon the American character and the vilifiers of the American name, procured the requisite information concerning the hemisphere situated to the west of us, they would have discovered that the inhabitants of vast regions of Asia, to the number of many millions, were of the same blood and lineage with the undervalued and despised population of America. The learned Dr. Williamson has discussed this point with great ability.

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I forbore to go farther than to ascertain by the correspondences already stated, the identity of origin and derivation of the American and Asiatick natives. I avoided the opportunity which this grand conclusion afforded me, of stating, that America was the cradle of the human race; of tracing its colonies westward over the Pacifick ocean, and beyond the sea of Kamschatka, to new settlements; of following the emigrants by land and by water, until they reached Europe and Africa; and lastly, of following adventurers from the former of these sections of the globe, to the plantations and abodes which they found occupied in America. I had no inclination to oppose the current opinions relative to the place of man's creation and dispersion. I thought it was scarcely worth the while to inform an European, that on coming to America, he had left the *new* world behind him for the purpose of visiting the OLD. It ought, nevertheless, to be remarked, that there are many important advantages derived to our reasoning from the present manner of considering the subject. The principles being now established, they will be supported by a farther induction of facts and occurrences, to an extent and an amount that it is impossible, at this moment, fairly to estimate. And the conclusions of Jefferson, Lafon, and others, favourable to the greater antiquity of American population, will be daily reinforced and confirmed.

Having thus given the history of these races of man, spreading so extensively over the globe, I considered the human family under three divisions.

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First, the TAWNY man, comprehending the Tartars, Malays, Chinese, the American Indians of every tribe, Lascars, and other people of the same cast and breed. From these seemed to have proceeded two remarkable varieties, to wit:

Secondly, the *white* man, inhabiting naturally the countries in Asia and Europe, situated north of the Mediterranean Sea; and, in the course of his adventures, settling all over the world. Among those I reckon the Greenlanders and Esquimaux.

Thirdly, the *black* man, whose proper residence is in the regions south of the Mediterranean, particularly toward the interiour of Africa. The people of Papua and Van Dieman's Land, seem to be of this class.

It is generally supposed, and by many able and ingenious men too, that external physical causes, and the combination of circumstances which they call climate, have wrought all these changes in the human form. I do not, however, think them capable of explaining the differences which exist among the nations. There is an internal physical cause of the greatest moment, which has scarcely been mentioned. This is the generative influence. If by the act of modelling the constitution in the embryo and fœtus, a predisposition to gout, madness, scrofula and consumption, may be engendered, we may rationally conclude, with the sagacious d'Azara, that the procreative power may also shape the features, tinge the skin, and give other peculiarities to man.

Yours truly,

SAMUEL L. MITCHILL.

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No. V.

Letter from a Gentleman in Newyork, to the Editor of the Chillicothe Recorder, dated

Newyork, June 6, 1816.

SIR,

I observe in the Weekly Recorder of Chillicothe, for May 15th, which you were polite enough to send to Dr. Mitchill, that you have inserted his Disquisition on the Man of America and Asia, among the articles of intelligence which occupy that valuable paper. During the temporary absence from the city, and the actual occupation of that gentleman, I do myself the pleasure of writing you a few lines in his behalf.

No doubt, according to my way of thinking, ought to be entertained of the similarity of the inhabitants of the two great continents. The Americans and Asiaticks are so much alike, that the more strictly their resemblances are traced, the more clearly will it appear that they are descendants from the same stock.

In addition to the considerations already stated in favour of this opinion, may be urged the more recent disclosures concerning the quadrupeds which inhabit the respective countries. There is conclusive evidence, for example, the wild sheep of Louisiana and California, is the Tartarian animal of the same name. Yes, the *taye-taye* of Northwestern America is an animal of the same species with the *argali* of Northeastern Asia. Our mountain ram or big horn, is their *ovis ammon.*

Some late observations have been made on our prairie wolf, tending to prove that he is the chacal,

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or jackall, of the other hemisphere. Should a more strict examination confirm this belief, there will be another corroborating circumstance. I hope the question will soon be decided, whether the prairie wolf is truly the *canis aureus* of naturalists. His gregarious character, his noisy yelping, his cunning and robbing disposition, and his burrowing in the ground, all look like it.

That our continent contains a species of the antelope, seems to be equally well ascertained. It is a striking coincidence that the elegant family of the gazelles should belong both to Asia and to this hemisphere situated to the eastward of it.

I have a firm persuasion that when the beavers, the martins, the ermines, the seals, the bears, the deer, and several other animals, shall be properly known and considered, their histories and analogies will shed a fine light, not only upon their own migrations, but upon that of man himself.

To the opinions uttered concerning the greater antiquity of our eastern world, (for so it is in relation to Asia,) and its more early population, I have heard Dr. Mitchill say he attached little weight or value. If it could be ascertained that the human race was created in America, what practical good would result from the discovery.

He has been heard to declare, some of the ablest criticks had exercised their talents so unprofitably on this subject, that he had no desire to imitate them.

As to the seat of Eden and the terrestrial paradise, for example, four several speculations have been indulged by pious and learned writers.

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That prodigy of learning and research, Samuel Bochart, has described in his Geographia Sacra, many places celebrated of old. His friend and editor, Stephen Morinus, has published his sentiment *de Paradiso*, accompanied by a map. He locates the spot between Arabia and Persia, where the rivers Tigris and Euphrates meet. They pass through the region where the cities Seleucia and Ctesiphon stood in a joint channel. After irrigating, in the thirtyfourth degree of north latitude, the primitive garden of Mesopotamia, they divide again into two streams. The easternmost of these is called *Gichon*, and the westernmost *Phison*, and both empty into the Persian Gulph. To the north, a little westwardly, he places the mountain Ararat, or Niphates, where the ark of Noah is supposed to have rested, on the subsidence of the deluge.

Augustin Calmet, another colossus of sacred erudition, has composed literal commentaries on all the books of the Old and New Testaments, in more than twenty quarto volumes. He interprets the Hebrew text, translated to signify that the river Gihon encompassed the whole land of Ethiopia, to mean simply that it winds through the land of Cush. After a long and elaborate discussion, Calmet concludes that the land of Cush is situated somewhere north of the sources of the Tigris; that the Gihon is the river Araxes; that it discharges its waters into the Caspian Sea; and that Eden and Paradise existed between the head waters of the Araxes and of the Euphrates, in the fortieth degree of latitude, and considerably west of the Caspian.

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The Septuagint and St. Jerome consider the land of Cush and Ethiopia to be the same. Consequently the parents of mankind must have been first placed in a region watered by the Upper Nile.

Philo Judæus, and various others, have, with great and ingenious labours, endeavoured to show the whole narration of the garden by Moses to be a beautiful and instructive allegory. These interpreters reverently shrink from the supposition that any definite portion of earth or soil was intended or understood.

Thus, the wisest and best men vary exceedingly in their judgment as to the geographical site of man's original abode. After all this, if any person should think the spot was in some part of America, I see no harm in the conjecture. If he could reconcile himself to the belief, that from the time the "flood bare up the ark," it "went upon the face of the waters" during the hundred and fifty days the deluge lasted, from such American paradise to Mount Ararat, I am sure Dr. Mitchill would not envy him the enjoyment.

It has been observed by a very competent judge, John Mason Goode, Esq. that there is no part of the world where there is such scope for original observation as our own. He thinks we ought to inquire, "From what quarter, or rather, from what different quarters, the American continent became peopled? At what different periods, new colonies, or migrations poured forth towards it? What have been their various degrees of civilization? What their knowledge of arts and sciences? of religious and political institutions? What monuments of their

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respective histories, propensities and talents they may have left among them, or behind them, buried beneath the ground, rudely carved on rocks, or still prominent n architectural ruins? How one tribe has yielded to another; and probably those more civilized to those less so?" These, and a thousand other inquiries of a similar kind, do indeed form a body of investigation peculiar to ourselves; and open a more extensive field for historiography than perhaps any country can display to the eye, or even to the imagination.

Captain Locket, the great oriental scholar, has enjoyed singular opportunities for Asiatick inquiries, in the course of his employment as secretary and examiner in the college at Fort William, near Calcutta. His means of taking comparative estimates must have been peculiarly favourable, after a free and liberal communication, at Paris, with the great travellers through New Spain, and the provinces to the south on both sides of the Cordilleras. To find such a gentleman repeating the declaration of Baron Humboldt, how he can establish, from identity of features, customs and language, the Mexicans to be descendants from the ancient Tibetians, is doubtless very consoling to Dr. Mitchill, who, from facts and occurrences within the United States, had been led to conclude that tribes of Malayan or Australasian blood formerly dwelt on lands contiguous to the Ohio.

Now the investigation is begun, let us all look into this matter. In the appendix to George Edwards's second volume of his History of Birds,

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p. 118, there is a likeness of a wild Asiatick, done from the life by the French traveller and painter Le Bruyn. This head of a Samoied resembles exactly the physiognomy and features of the North American Indians, and gives a perfect idea of them. After examining this print, I am satisfied of the near resemblance between the two sorts of faces.—Mr. Edwards had himself seen our aboriginal chiefs in England; and, on beholding this portrait of the North Asiatick in Le Bruyn's Travels, he found them strongly represented by it. And the dresses he received from Hudson's Bay so nearly resembled the clothes of the Russian savages, that they might almost pass for the same.

I hope you will give these explanations, in behalf of my friend, a place in your gazette, and thereby oblige

A Student of Natural History.

No. VI.

Heads *of that part of the Introductory Discourse delivered November* 7, 1816, *by Dr.* Mitchill, *in the College of Physicians at Newyork, which relates to the Migration of Malays, Tartars, and Scandinavians, to America.*

A late German writer, Professor Vater, has published, at Leipzig, a book on the population of America. It is, in reality, a display of Humboldt's opinions on that subject. He lays great stress on the tongues spoken by the aborigines, and dwells considerably upon the unity pervading the whole of them from Chili to the remotest district of North America—whether of Greenland, Chippewa, Dela-

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ware, Natick, Totouaka, Cora or Mexican. Though ever so singular and diversified, nevertheless the same peculiarity obtains among them all, which cannot be accidental, viz. "the whole sagacity of that people, from whom the construction of the American languages and the gradual invention of their grammatical forms is derived, has, as it were, selected one object, and over this diffused such an abundance of forms, that one is astonished; while only the most able philologist, by assiduous study, can obtain a general view thereof," &c. In substance, the author says, that through various times and circumstances, this peculiar character is preserved. Such unity, such direction or tendency, compels us to place the origin in a remote period, when an original tribe or people existed, whose ingenuity and judgment enabled them to excogitate such intricate formations of language as could not be effaced by thousands of years, nor by the influence of zones and climates. Mr. Vater has published a large work, entitled *Mithridates*, in which he has given an extensive comparison of all the Asiatick, African, and American languages, to a much greater extent than was done by our distinguished fellow citizen, Dr. Barton. He concludes by expressing his desire to unravel the mysteries which relate to the new and old continents; at least, to contribute the contents of his volume towards the commencement of a structure, which, out of the ruins of dilacerated human tribes, seeks materials for an union of the whole human race.

What this original and radical language was, has very lately been made the subject of inquiry, by the

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learned Mr. Mathieu, of Nancy, in France. The chevalier Valentin, of the order of St. Michel, renewed by Louis XVIII, informs me that this gentleman has examined Mr. Winthrop's description of the curious characters inscribed upon the rock at Dighton, in Massachusetts, as published in the transactions of the Boston Academy of Arts and Sciences. He thinks them hieroglyphicks, which he can interpret and explain; and ascribes them to the inhabitants of the ancient and Atlantick island of Plato. Mr. Mathieu not only pretends to give the sense of the inscription, but also to prove that the tongues spoken by the Mexicans, Peruvians, and other occidental people, as well as the Greek itself, with all its dialects and ramifications, were but derivatives from the language of the primitive Atlantides!!

But what need is there of all this etymological research and grammatical conjecture? The features, manners and dress, distinguishable in the North American natives of the high latitudes, prove the people to be of the same race with the Samoieds and Tartars of Asia. And the physiognomy, manufactures and customs of the North American tribes of the middle and low latitudes, and of the South Americans, show them to be nearly akin to the Malay race of Australasia and Polynesia.

All this may be considered correct as far as the Tartars and Malays are concerned. But there is another part of the American population which deserves to be particularly considered. I mean the emigrants from Lapland, Norway, and Finland, who, before the tenth century, settled themselves in

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Greenland, and passed over to Labrador. It is recorded that these adventurers settled themselves in a country which they called *Vinland*. This was probably a new settlement, so called in honour of *Finland*, the region whence the adventurers came. Or, if it was a *land of Vines*, the proof is the stronger of their southern encampment.

Our learned regent, Mr. De Witt Clinton, who has outdone governour Colden, by writing the most full and able history of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, of Newyork, mentioned to me, in a late conversation, his belief that a part of the old forts and other antiquities at Onondaga and the adjacent territory, were of *Danish* character. In the twinkling of an eye, I was penetrated by the justness of his remark. An additional window of light was suddenly opened to me. I told him in an instant how I could follow, with the reverend pastor Van Troil, the European emigrants, during the horrible commotions of the ninth and tenth centuries, to Iceland. The reverend Mr. Crantz had informed me, in his important book, how they went to Greenland. I thought I could trace the people of SCANDINAVIA to the banks of the St. Lawrence. I supposed my friends had seen the PEUNIC inscriptions made by them here and there, in the places where they rested. Madoc, Prince of Wales, and his Cambrian followers, appeared to my recollection, among these bands of adventurers. And thus, the northeastern lands of North America were visited by the hyperborean tribes from the northwesternmost climates of Europe; and the northwestern climes of North America had received inhabitants

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of the same race from the northeastern regions of Asia.

The Danes or Finns, (and Welshmen, for I am willing to include them) performing their migrations gradually to the southwest, seem to have penetrated to the country situated to the south of lake Ontario, and to have fortified themselves there.—The Tartars, or Samoieds, travelling by slow degrees from Alaska to the southeast, probably found them there.

In their course, these Asian colonists probably exterminated the Malays, who had penetrated along the Ohio and its streams; or drove them to the caverns, abounding in saltpetre and copperas in Kentucky and Tennessee, where their bodies, accompanied with the cloths and ornaments of their peculiar manufacture, have been repeatedly disinterred and brought to us for examination. Having achieved this conquest, the Tartars and their descendants had probably a much harder task to perform. This was to subdue the more ferocious and warlike European colonists, who had already been intrenched and fortified in the country, before them. There is evidence enough that long and bloody wars were waged among the tribes. In these, the Scandinavians or Esquimaux seem to have been overpowered and destroyed in Newyork. The survivors of the defeat and ruin retreated to Labrador, where they have continued secure and protected by barrenness and cold. I have, however, to mention, that the minerals of Labrador sent me, a few days ago, by Stephen Mitchell, Esq. of Sagharbor, have a remarkable correspondence

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with those observed in the Faroe islands by Sir George Mackenzie, Mr. Allan, and others. Gypsum seems to be abundant, (in addition to zealite, basalt, quartz, and jaspar) and to promise an inexhaustible supply to the southern regions for all the generations to come.

Think, what a memorable spot is our Onondaga, where men of the Malay race from the southwest, and of the Tartar blood from the northwest, and of the Gothick stock from the northeast, have successively contended for supremacy and rule; and which may be considered as having been possessed by each before the French, the Dutch, and the English visited the tract, or indeed knew any thing whatever about it.

We learn from the historian Charlevoix, that the Eries, an indigenous nation of the Malay race, formerly inhabited the lands south of lake Erie, where the western district of Pennsylvania and the state of Ohio now are. And Lewis Evans, a former resident of this city, has shown us in his map of the Middle Colonies, that the hunting grounds of the Iroquois extended over that very region.—The Iroquois were of the Tartar stock; and they converted, as it seems, the country of the exterminated Eries, into a range for bears, beavers, bisons, and deer.

The Antiquarian of America will probably find that the Scandinavians emigrated about the tenth century of the Christian era, if not earlier. They may be considered, not merely as having discovered this continent, but to have explored its northern climes to great extent, and to have peopled

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them, three or four hundred years at least, before Christopher Columbus was born. The inquirer into this subject will not fail to trace the swarms from the Great Hive of nations existing to the eastward and westward of the Caspian Sea, in a manner very different from that which the writers of Europe and their imitators have pursued, as the barbarians descended upon the more warm and productive countries of the south. He will follow the hordes journeying by land to the eastward, and he will trace the fearless boatman venturing over sea to the westward, until the Tartar and the Samoied meet each other at the antipodes. He will find this antipodal region to lie south of the lakes Ontario and Erie, and thereon pursue the vestiges of their combats, their conflicts, and their untold story, to Onondaga, the great head quarters of the victorious Iroquois.

No. VII.

The following Letter was a few months since addressed by Dr. SAMUEL L. MITCHILL, *of New-york, to the Recording Secretary of the American Antiquarian Society, on the Origin and Antiquities of the Aborigines of our country.*

SIR,

I received, two days ago, your letter of February first, informing me that the President and Sub Council of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, had appointed me a corresponding member.

My opinion is, that the Antiquities of our country were never presented to us in so interesting and advantageous an aspect as at present. Their num-

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ber and their description is more attended to than heretofore. There are more good observers, and therefore we are enabled to form more correct conclusions. At the same time, it must be remembered, that the vestiges of the Aborigines, their manners, their languages and their arts, are becoming rapidly more and more faint; and many of them will soon vanish altogether from sight. It therefore becomes the Society, and all its members, to employ every moment of time, and every opportunity that can be found, to delineate them as they are, and to save them from oblivion. I accordingly exhort all with whom I communicate, to be industrious and persevering.

My observation led me several years ago to the conclusion, that the two great continents were peopled by similar races of men; and that America, as well as Asia, had its Tartars in the north, and its Malays in the south. If there were but historians, we should find a striking resemblance. America has had her Scythians, her Alans, and her Huns; but there has been no historian to record their formidable migrations, and their barbarous achievements. How little of past events do we know!

Since the publication of my sentiments on this subject, at home, they have been published in several places abroad.

Mr. E. Salverte, editor of the Bibliotheque Universelle, has printed them at Geneva, in Switzerland, with a learned and elaborate comment.

The Monthly Magazine, of London, contains an epitome of the same.

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In that memoir I maintained the doctrine, that there were but three original varieties of the human race—the tawny man, the white man, and the black man; a division, which I was pleased to observe, the incomparable author of the Animal Kingdom (Regne Animal, &c.) had adopted in France. The former of these seems to have occupied, in the earliest days, the plain watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris, while the white Arab, as he has sometimes been called, was produced in the regions north of the Mediterranean Sea; and the sable Arab, or negro, arose to the south of that expanse of water.

Of the brown, or tawny variety, are the eastern Asiaticks and western Americans, divisible into two great stocks, or genealogies. 1. Those in high latitudes, whom I call Tartars; and, 2. the inhabitants of low latitudes, whom I consider as Malays. I am convinced that the terms, for the general purposes of reasoning, are equally applicable to the two great continents; and that, with the exception of the negro colonies in Papua, and a few other places, the islanders in the Pacifick ocean are Malays.

The comparison of the languages, spoken by these colonies and tribes respectively, was begun by our learned fellow citizen, the late Dr. B. S. Barton.

The work has been continued by the Adelangs and Vater, distinguished philologists of Germany. Their profound inquiry into the structure of language, and the elements of speech, embraces a more correct and condensed body of information,

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concerning the original tongues of the two Americas, than was ever compiled and arranged before. Their Mithridates surpasses all the similar performances that have ever been achieved by man.

It gives me pleasure to mention to you a more recent undertaking, which reflects great honour upon the author and his worthy associates. Peter S. Du Ponceau, Esq. as Corresponding Secretary to the Historical and Literary Committee of the Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia, has prepared a Report on the languages of the American Indians. He has performed the task with singular industry, skill and research—showing the copiousness of those tongues in words and inflections—their complicated or polysynthetick structure in the whole space between Arctick and Antarctick—and the essential points of difference between their forms, and those of the ancient and modern languages of the other hemisphere. This subject is in a train of farther investigation by that learned gentleman and his able associates. To them therefore it may be properly confided.

Owing to my particular situation, the arts of the aborigines, and their ways of living, have more particularly excited my attention.

One of my intelligent correspondents, who has surveyed with his own eyes the region watered by the river Ohio, wrote me very lately a letter containing the following paragraph: "I have adopted your theory respecting the Malayans, Polynesians and Alleghanians. This last nation, so called by the Lennilenapi, or primitive stock of our hunting Indians, was that which inhabited the United States

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before the Tartar tribes came and destroyed them, and erected the mounds, works, fortifications and *temples* of the western country. This historical fact is now proved beyond a doubt, by the traditions of the Lennilenapi Indians, published by Mr. Heckewelder, in the work just issued by the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia—and your sagacious ideas are confirmed. I may add, that Mr. Clifford, of Lexington, Kentucky, has proved another identity between the Alleghanians and Mexicans, by ascertaining that many supposed fortifications were *temples*—particularly that of Circleville, in Ohio, where human sacrifices were one of the rites. He has discovered their similarity with the ancient Mexican temples, described by Humboldt, and has examined the bones of victims in heaps, the shells used in sacred rites, as in India, and the idols of baked clay, consisting of three heads."

This opinion of human sacrifices was fully confirmed by the testimony of Mr. Manuel Lisa, during the summer of 1818. He, on his return from the trading posts on the upper Missouri, informed his fellow citizens at St. Louis, that the Wolf tribe of the Pawnee Indians yet follow the custom of immolating human victims. He purchased a Spanish prisoner, a boy about ten years old, whom they intended to offer as a sacrifice to the *Great Star;* and they did put to death, by transfixing on a sharp pole, as an offering to the object of their adoration, the child of a Paddo woman, who, being a captive herself, and devoted to that sanguinary and horrible death, had made her escape on horseback, leaving her new born offspring behind.

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The triad, or trinity of heads, instantly brings to mind a similar article figured by the Indians of Asia, and described by Mr. Maurice in his Oriental Researches.

I received, a short time since, directly from Mexico, several pieces of cloth, painted in the manner that historians have often represented. I find the material in not a single instance to be *cotton*, as has been usually affirmed. There is not a thread indicating the use of the spinning wheel, nor an intertexture showing that the loom or the shuttle was employed. In strictness, therefore, there is neither cotton nor cloth in the manufacture. The fabricks, on the contrary, are uniformly composed of pounded bark, probably of the mulberry tree, and resemble the *paper cloths*, if I may so call them, prepared to this day in the Friendly and Society Islands of the Pacifick ocean, as nearly as one piece of linen, or one blanket of wool, resembles another. I derive this conclusion from a comparison of the several sorts of goods. They have been examined together by several excellent judges. For at the late meeting of the Newyork Literary and Philosophical Society, in February, 1819, I laid the *paper cloths*, with their respective colourings and paintings, from Mexico, Otaheite, Tongatabboo, upon the table for the examination of the members. All were satisfied that there was a most striking similitude among the several articles. Not only the fabrick, but the colours and the materials of which they apparently consisted, as well as the probable manner of putting them on, seemed to me strong proofs of the sameness of origin in the different

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tribes of a people working in the same way, and retaining a sameness in their arts of making a thing which answers the purpose of paper, of cloth, and of a material for writing and painting upon.

Soon after the arrival of these rolls from New Spain, filled with hieroglyphick and imitative characters, I received a visit from three natives of South America, born at St. Blas, just beyond the Isthmus of Darien, on the eastern side, between Portobello and Carthagena. They were of the Malay race, by their physiognomy, form and general appearance. Their dark brown skins, their thin beards, the long, black, straight hair of their heads, their small hands and feet, and their delicate frame of body, all concurred to mark their near resemblance to the Australasians; while the want of high cheek bones, and of little eyes, placed wide apart, distinguished them sufficiently from the Tartars.

Other similitudes exist. The history of M. de la Salle's last expedition and discoveries in North America, is contained in the second volume of the Collections of the Newyork Historical Society, p. 306. In that narrative is the following statement: "Thus, in pursuing our journey, sometimes in the plains, and sometimes across the torrents, we arrived in the midst of a very extraordinary nation, called the *Biscatonges*, to whom we gave the name of 'weepers,' in regard that upon the first approach of strangers, all these people, as well men as women, usually fall a weeping bitterly, &c. That which is yet more remarkable, and perhaps very reasonable in that custom, is, that they weep much more at the birth of their children than at their death, be-

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cause the latter is esteemed only by them, as it were, a journey or voyage, from whence they may return after the expiration of a certain time; but they look upon their nativity as an inlet into an ocean of dangers and misfortunes."

I beg you to compare this with a passage in the Terpsichore of Herodotus, chapter four, where, in describing the Thracians, he observes, "that the Trausi have a general uniformity with the rest of the Thracians, except what relates to the birth of their children, and the burial of their dead. On the birth of a child, he is placed in the midst of a circle of his relations, who lament aloud the evils, which, as a human being, he must necessarily undergo; all of which they particularly enumerate." (Beloe's translation.)

There is an opinion among the Seneca nation of the Iroquois confederacy, living at this day in the region south of lake Ontario, that eclipses of the sun and moon are caused by a Manitau, or bad Spirit, who mischievously intercepts the light intended to be shed upon the earth and its inhabitants. Upon such occasions, the greatest solicitude exists. All the individuals of the tribe feel a strong desire to drive away the demon, and to remove thereby the impediment to the transmission of luminous rays. For this purpose, they go forth, and, by crying, shouting, drumming, and the firing of guns, endeavour to frighten him. They never fail in their object; for by courage and perseverance they infallibly drive him off. His retreat is succeeded by a return of the obstructed light.

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Something of the same kind is practised among the Chippeways, at this time, when an eclipse happens. The belief among them is, that there is a battle between the sun and moon, which intercepts the light. Their great object, therefore, is to stop the fighting, and to separate the combatants. They think these ends can be accomplished by withdrawing the attention of the contending parties from each other, and diverting it to the Chippeways themselves. They accordingly fill the air with noise and outcry. Such sounds are sure to attract the attention of the warring powers. Their philosophers have the satisfaction of knowing that the strife never lasted long after their clamour and noisy operations had begun. Being thus induced to be peaceful, the sun and moon separate, and light is restored to the Chippeways.

Now it is reported, on the authority of one of the Jesuit fathers of the French mission to India, that a certain tribe or people, whom he visited there, ascribed eclipses to the presence of a great dragon.—This creature, by the interposition of his huge body, obstructed the passage of the light to our world.—They were persuaded they could drive him away by all the terrifying sounds they could produce. These were always successful. The dragon retired in alarm, and the eclipse immediately terminated.

The manner of depositing the bodies of distinguished persons after death, is remarkable. Among the tribes inhabiting the banks of the Columbia river, and in some of those which live near the waters of the Missouri, the dead body of a great man is

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neither consumed by fire, nor buried in the earth; but it is placed in his canoe, with his articles of dress, ornament, war and hunting, and suspended in the canoe, between two trees, to putrefy in the open air.

The custom of exposing bodies to decomposition above ground in the morais, or places of deposit for the dead, among the Polynesians, will immediately occur to every reader of the voyages made within the last half century, through the Pacifick ocean, for the purposes of discovery.

The practice of cannibalism exists in full force in the Tegee islands. A particular and faithful account of it is contained in the 14th volume of the Medical Repository, chapters 209—215.

The history of the five Indian nations dependent upon the government of Newyork, by Dr. Colden, pp. 185—6, shows that the ferocious and vindictive spirit of the conqueror led him occasionally to feast upon his captive. The Ottawas then made a soup of the flesh of an Iroquois prisoner. The like has been repeatedly done since, on select occasions, by the other tribes. Governour Cass, of Michigan, a few weeks ago, told me, that among the Miamis there was a standing committee, consisting of seven warriours, whose business it was to perform the maneating required by publick authority. The last of their cannibal feasts was on the body of a white man, of Kentucky, about thirtyfive years ago. The appointment of the committee to eat human flesh, has, since that time, gradually become obsolete; but the oldest and last member of this canni-

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bal society is well remembered, and died only a few years ago.*

The Antiquities of North America, or rather the Fredonian section of it, have become deservedly the objects of particular and inquisitive research.

It was my intention to have terminated this communication here; but another subject occurs to me. There is a class of Antiquities which present themselves on digging from thirty to fifty feet below the present surface of the ground. They occur in the form of fire brands, split wood, ashes, coals, and occasionally of tools and utensils, buried to those depths by the alluvion, and have been observed, as I am informed, in Rhodeisland, Newjersey, Maryland, Northcarolina, and doubtless in other places. I have heard of some in Ohio. I wish the members of the Society would exert themselves with all possible diligence to ascertain and collect the facts of this description. They will be exceedingly curious both for the geologist and the historian. After such facts shall have been collected and methodized, we may perhaps draw some satisfactory conclusions. Light may possibly be shed upon the remote *Pelasgians*, and upon the traditionary *Atlantides;* and, if the rays should not be bright enough to exhibit them in all their distinctness, there will

* A very circumstantial description of a cannibal feast, where a soup was made from the body of an Englishman, at Michillimakinack, about the year 1760, is given by Alexander Henry, Esq. in his book of travels through Canada and the Indian territories. It is there stated that man-eating was then, and always had been, practised among the Indian nations on returning from war, or on overcoming their enemies, for the purpose of giving them courage to attack, and resolution to die. (14 Med. Repos. pp. 261—262.)

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be sufficient to show us a great deal more than we have learned, as yet, concerning the generations of men who have gone before us, as inhabitants of the regions of the globe, now held, though with strange additions and alterations, by the present race.

I present this letter to the American Antiquarian Society, as a proof of my respect for the Institution, and of my zeal to promote its laudable objects.—And I beg you will accept for yourself the assurance of my particular regard.

SAMUEL L. MITCHILL.

Extract of a Letter from JOHN H. FARNHAM, *Esq. a Member of the American Antiquarian Society, describing the* MAMMOTH CAVE, *in Kentucky.*

IN passing from Barren to Warren county, I visited an immense Cave, which, by way of distinguishing it from numerous others in this part of the country, which is wholly limestone, and very hollow, is called the Mammoth Cave, one of the greatest curiosities the country affords. It is owned by some gentlemen of Lexington with whom I am acquainted, who manufacture from the earth found in it, a vast quantity of saltpetre. By a steep precipice you descend to its mouth, which seems like some frightful chasm in nature, whose hideous yawn allures the adventurer to its interiour, only to bury him in eternal darkness. The entrance to the infernal abodes of ancient mythology is most forci-

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bly recalled to your mind. Here, you say, Virgil might have found a hell formed to his mind. In advancing two or three hundred yards, the incumbent rocks, which, at first, formed a lofty and tremendous arch over your head, gradually converge till you come to a low and narrow entrance, where for several yards it is necessary to stoop. The entrance, however, is not so low but that oxen are admitted with facility. Here a black and dreary perspective of nearly a quarter of a mile is presented to the eye. At the end of which, you see by dim torches, twenty or thirty blacks engaged in the labours of the Cave, which has no small effect in strengthening any illusion that may have occupied your mind. A strong current of cold air at the entrance imparts a chill to the feelings, that seems to prepare you to enter this tomb of nature. Here our guide, who was the head workman of the Cave, stopped to furnish us with torches, which, with the utmost difficulty, we preserved from being extinguished by the violent current that is perpetually rushing to the warm atmosphere without. The experience of our guide, however, soon removed all difficulties, and introduced us, gazing with admiration and astonishment at the gloomy sublimities of this subterraneous abode.

After passing the entrance, the Cave gradually opens till you have a wall of sixty or seventy feet high, with a width of from one to three or four feet. There is a pretty good turnpike road formed for three fourths of a mile in the Cave, on which the oxen cart the earth used in the manufactory of saltpetre, to convenient places.

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The process of making saltpetre is very simple. The earth is dug up and deposited in square pits, called hods. When one of these pits is filled, water is poured in till the strength of the earth is exhausted. The water drained off is called beer.—This is conveyed, by ducts or pipes, from the hods as near as possible to the entrance of the Cave, whence it is taken by buckets to some convenient place above ground, and put into boilers, where, by an infusion of potash, the limestone, which the beer contains, is separated from the salt, and the sediment, after boiling, is saltpetre. From three to five hundred pounds a day are made, worth from sixteen to twentyfive cents a pound. The cost of making is four cents.

You will naturally expect me to carry you to the end of this subterraneous region, after introducing you with so much formality. That has not yet been explored; and, were it possible, one or two miles which I traversed was enough to satisfy my curiosity. The Cave has been penetrated to the distance of between nine and ten miles, without coming to a boundary, although it requires much labour and expense to clear away the rocks to continue the passage after going nine miles. This Cave is more remarkable for its immense extent than for the beauty or variety of its productions, or the curiosities found in it. There are numerous pillars, some of immense size and fantastick form and shape, formed by the petrifaction of water; but none of the beautiful stalactites and crystallizations, which are found in many other caves.—There are several forks, from one to two miles long,

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diverging in different directions from the main Cave, which is the longest direct course. After proceeding about half a mile in the main Cave, by the recommendation of our guide, we ascended a plank bridge to the right of the main passage, which took us into a large fork, about a mile in length, that led to what is called the haunted chamber. We followed this fork, or passage, nearly three fourths of a mile, over very rough stones, having a wall of from ten to twenty feet of pure white limestone over our heads, when our attention was arrested by the sound of a water fall, striking deep into a basin apparently under our feet, and reverberating with a solemn and impressive echo through the whole of this dismal region. Our guide told us, that it was one fourth of a mile off, though the rapid communication of sound made it seem so near. The effect was sublime. We followed our leader with eagerness to explore its source. We descended another precipice, more steep and dangerous than that at our entrance, which brought us to a narrow fissure of stupendous rock, that, by a circuitous passage down a steep hill, through immense shelving rocks, hanging forty or fifty feet over our heads, and so close, that their embrace seemed to threaten us with annihilation, took us to a distant chamber of the Cave, where, from the top of the wall, a beautiful and clear stream of water issued through a hole not much bigger than a gun barrel, and fell into a large basin; thence, with a murmuring noise, ran through several subterraneous windings it was impossible for us to explore. I tasted the water, and found it excellent. We were once

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or twice alarmed, by ruminating on the possibility of losing our light in this region of darkness. Our guide told us it had happened to several persons in the Cave, who had been obliged to sit down, and pass many hours in darkness, waiting patiently till they were sent for. It would be impossible for the most experienced workman to find his way out in the dark. Shelving rocks, precipices and pits assail him on all sides, and endanger his life. A man in a neighbouring Cave, the last summer, lost his light, and in attempting to get out, perished.

The greatest curiosity, however, remains to be described. It was, in the language of the people, an "Indian Mummy." Mummies, however, or embalmed bodies, have never been found in America; and the art, in its ancient perfection, was, I believe, confined to the Egyptians, with perhaps the exception of their Asiatick neighbours. This was an Indian woman, whose flesh and muscles had been dried to the bones, and kept in so great a state of preservation, by the influence probably of saltpetre, that many of the features were distinctly discernible.—The shape and conformation of the ears were perfectly preserved, and the hands, fingers and toe nails. The teeth all in their proper place; the lips, though dried, were yet coral in their appearance; much of the hair was perfect; and, the whole carcass, and its mode of burial, have furnished to all who have seen it, a copious topick of admiration and conjecture. Her posture, as she was found, precisely resembles most of the Indian skeletons that have, at different times, been found in the western country. She was buried in a squatting form,

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the knees drawn up close to the breast, the arms bent, with the hands raised, and crossing each other about the chin, in a close position, as if she would guard her vital parts from injury. She was found in this posture, enclosed in a couple of deer skins, which were bound together by a ligament of braided bark, a species of manufacture exclusively Indian. There were found, likewise, buried with her, many ornamental articles, such as birds' feathers, coloured and stained in various ways; beads formed of dry berries; the skin and rattles of a snake; a fawn's foot in a state of perfect preservation; and many other articles, mostly appropriate to feminine uses, and which denote her to have been a woman of distinction. No article was found that denoted the slightest commerce with the Europeans; and the general opinion of those who have examined this carcass, and seen other Indian skeletons, is, that she must have laid there several hundred years. The carcass was very light, though the dried flesh and entrails were preserved, not weighing more than twelve or fourteen pounds. The woman was nearly six feet high. The colour of the carcass was that of dried tobacco, of a yellowish hue. It was found three months since, under some rocks in a neighbouring Cave, by the workmen. The limits of a single letter will not admit of a particular account of the Cave, or Mummy. On coming out of it, after nearly two hours confinement, the heat of the atmosphere was so oppressive as almost to produce fainting.

I forgot to mention to you, that the superstition of some people in the vicinity of the Cave, though

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perfectly independent of classical or fabulous history, induces them to believe this Cave to be the passage to hell itself. It lies on Green River, near the banks.

Letter from CHARLES WILKINS, *Esq. a Member of the American Antiquarian Society, to* SAMUEL M. BURNSIDE, *Esq. Corresponding Secretary of said Society; respecting an exsiccated body, discovered in a Cave, in Kentucky, now in the Cabinet of the Society, and described in the preceding letter from* JOHN H. FARNHAM, *Esq.*

Lexington, Kentucky, Oct. 2, 1817.

SIR,

I have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your letter, of the fifteenth August last, informing me that the American Antiquarian Society were in possession of the Mummy, which they are pleased to consider a valuable acquisition; and requesting me to give you some account of the manner in which it was found. The simple facts attending this discovery are few; but the subject itself opens a field for philosophical inquiry, worthy the investigation of a man of science, a character to which I have no pretensions.

I received information, that an infant, of nine or twelve months old, was discovered in a saltpetre Cave in Warren county, about four miles from the Mammoth Cave, in a perfect state of preservation.

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I hastened to the place; but, to my mortification, found that, upon its being exposed to the atmosphere, it had fallen into dust, and that its remains, except the skull, with all its clothing, had been thrown into the furnace. I regretted this much, and promised the labourers to reward them, if they would preserve the next subject for me. About a month afterwards, the present one was discovered, and information given to our agent at the Mammoth Cave, who sent immediately for it, and brought and placed it there, where it remained for twelve months. It appeared to be the exsiccated body of a female. The account which I received of its discovery, was simply this. It was found at the depth of about ten feet from the surface of the Cave, bedded in clay, strongly impregnated with nitre, placed in a sitting posture, incased in broad stones, standing on their edges, with a flat stone covering the whole. It was enveloped in coarse clothes, (a specimen of which accompanied it) the whole wrapped in deer skins, the hair of which was shaved off in the manner in which the Indians prepare them for market. Enclosed in the stone coffin, were the working utensils, beads, feathers, and other ornaments of dress, which belonged to her. The body was in a state of much higher perfection, when first discovered, and continued so, as long as it remained in the Mammoth Cave, than it is at present, except the depredations committed upon its arms and thighs by the rats, many of which inhabit the Cave. After it was brought to Lexington, and became the subject of great curiosity, being much exposed to the atmosphere, it gradually

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began to decay; its muscles to contract, and the teeth to drop out, and much of its hair was plucked from its head by wanton visitants. As to the manner of its being embalmed, or whether the nitrous earth and atmosphere had a tendency to preserve it, must be left to the speculations of the learned.

The Cave in which the Mummy was found, is not of great extent, not being more than three quarters of a mile in length; its surface, covered with loose limestone, from four to six feet deep, before you enter the clay impregnated with nitre. It is of easy access, being about twenty feet wide, and six feet high, at the mouth or entrance. It is enlarged to about fifty feet wide, and ten feet high, almost as soon as you enter it. This place had evident marks of having once been the residence of the aborigines of the country, from the quantity of ashes, and the remains of fuel, and torches made of the reed, &c. which were found in it.

These excavations in the earth, or rather in the limestone rock, in which this country abounds, are subjects of great curiosity, and worthy the attention of chemists and naturalists.

The Mammoth Cave, (at present owned by Mr. Gratz and myself) has been described by several. I have explored so little of it myself, that I am unable to give a general description of it with accuracy. It is computed to be nine or ten miles in length, with many branches, a few of which only have been explored to their termination. From the estimate made of the principal Cave and its branches, upwards of twentyfive miles have been examined.

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If this description proves satisfactory to the Society, I shall be much gratified.

I am sir, very respectfully,
your obedient servant,
CHARLES WILKINS.

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BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF THE

Caraibs,

WHO INHABITED THE ANTILLES,

COMMUNICATED TO THE

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

BY WILLIAM SHELDON, ESQ.

OF THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA, A CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY.

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A BRIEF ACCOUNT, &c.

Jamaica, July 15*th*, 1817.

DEAR SIR,

THE habits, manners, and many other circumstances of the Caraibs, having differed much from those of the other natives of the Westindia islands, and of the Mexicans, Peruvians, &c. on the continent of America, it is not easy to trace their origin. In some respects, indeed, they resembled the Indians of the islands and of the continent; in others they differed from them. They might have been the descendants of culprits banished from the large islands, and a difference of situation might have produced a difference of manners. Or they might have descended from some civilized people, who were driven to the Westindies by the winds, in former times; for it is highly probable the descendents of such a people, in such a climate, would degenerate into a description of people we call savages. The people, called by the Spaniards, Guanches, who were found in the Canary islands, when discovered by Juan de Belencourt, in 1402, had become savages. Those islands, under the denomination of the Fortunate Islands, were well known to the ancients. The Greeks, Phoenicians and Carthagenians traded to

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them; and the Guanches are, with good reason, supposed to be descendents of the Phoenicians or Carthagenians; yet they had no idea of their origin, nor did they know there was any country, beside the Canaries, in the world. Their complexions resembled those of the people on the coast of Africa, which is distant about one hundred to one hundred and eighty miles from the Canaries; but their language, manners and customs bore no resemblance to the language, manners and customs of the present inhabitants of Africa. They now live chiefly on the mountains, and goats' milk constitutes a principal part of their food. Their skins are tawny, their noses flat; and they are hardy, bold and active. Such of them as remain, have been, in part, civilized by the Spaniards; who have related most incredible stories about the bodies of some Guanches, found in catacombs or caves, some of which they said must have been twelve or fifteen feet high. The Guanches retained no traces of civilization; they were masters of no science, nor had they retained the use of iron.

The Caraibs had more arts among them than the Guanches, but they were not so active. Some writers have given credence to the accounts they have met with, of the Carthagenians having had some intercourse with America; but the fact cannot be substantiated; otherwise we might be led to believe, that they had planted a colony in the islands of the Caraibs. There is no difficulty, however, attending the belief, that some Phoenician or Carthagenian might be blown into the Westindies in very early times; and the navigators, unacquainted with

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the nature of the trade winds, might have found it impossible to return. Such a circumstance is not more unlikely, than that Robert Makin, in his voyage from England to France, should be blown by contrary winds to the island of Madeira, in 1344, that is, seventyfive years before the island was discovered by the Portuguese; yet that fact seems to be tolerably well authenticated. A Carthaginian vessel, with both men and women on board, might have got into the trade winds, and been driven by them to the Westindies, when, feeling the impossibility of returning, they might have formed a settlement. Or, if they had no women with them, they might have discovered the continent, or the large islands, and procured wives from thence. In process of time, their numbers might have increased, so as to form the scanty population of St. Vincents, Martinico, Guadaloupe, Dominica, and other small islands, where the Caraibs were settled. Supposing that a few sailors were driven to that part of the world, it is not to be imagined that any of them would be scholars or artists, or that many of them would be mechanicks. They might have been wrecked, and every thing they possessed lost with the vessel; and in such a case, all traces of the arts of civilization would have been lost at once; and in a luxurious climate, like that of the Westindies, the people would naturally sit down at their ease, only making such exertions as were absolutely requisite to procure the necessaries, with a few of the conveniences of life. The Caraibs retained as many of the arts as were necessary for that purpose; they knew how to make their

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carbets, or houses, their boats, their cloth, their baskets, their arms, their hammocks, and to prepare their provisions.

Father Labat has given an account of the only Caraib carbet, which remained in the island of Martinico, in the year 1696. It was much larger than any of the negro huts now constructed, having been sixtyfour feet long, and about twentyfour feet wide. The posts on which it was erected, were rough, forked, and the shortest of them about nine feet above ground—the others were proportioned to the height of the roof. The windward end was inclosed with a kind of wicker work, of split flags; the roof was covered with the leaves of the wild plantain, which are very large, and much stronger than the leaves of the plantain which bears fruit—three or four of them will make a large umbrella.—The laths were made of reeds. That end of the carbet which was covered, had an opening or doorway for a passage to the kitchen; the other end was nearly all open. Ten paces from the great carbet was another building, or hut, about half the size of the large one, which was divided by a reed partition. The first room served for a kitchen, where six or eight females were assembled and employed in making cassada. The second room served the women, and such of the children as were not admitted into the great carbet, to sleep in. All the rooms were furnished with hammocks and baskets. The men had their arms in their rooms. Some of the men were making baskets—two women were making a hammock. There were many bows, arrows,

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and clubs attached to the rafters. The floor was smooth and clean; it was made of well beaten earth, and sloped towards the side. There was a good fire, about one third the length of the carbet, round which eight or nine Caraibs were squatted on their haunches, in a posture as if they were about "à faire leurs necessités." They were smoking, and waiting till some fish, called coffres, were roasted; and made their salutation without rising.

The hammocks of the Caraibs might lead to a suspicion, that they were the descendants of some maritime adventurers, who were driven to the Westindies, and there perpetuated the use of hammocks, which they probably had been accustomed to in their vessels. This article, however, was used by the Indians of the continent, and of the large islands. Whether the other Indians learned the use of them from the Caraibs, or the Caraibs from them, cannot be ascertained. They were made of coarse cotton cloth, six or seven feet long, and twelve or fourteen feet wide; each end was ornamented with cords, which they called ribbands; those were two and a half or three feet long, twisted and well made. All the cords at each end were joined together, and formed loops, through which a long rope was inserted, in order to fasten the hammocks to the posts, at the sides of the house, and to support the persons within them. They were nearly all painted red, with the roucou or annatto, before they were used. Some of them were diversified with squares of black, which made an agreeable appearance; for the compartments were made with as much exactness, as if they had used the

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compasses or the square of the mathematician, or the most exact rules of geometry. This was wholly the work of the women; for a Caraib would have been dishonoured forever, and indelibly disgraced, had he descended to colour or paint a hammock. Those performances cost the women much labour and time; and, on account of the magnitude and thickness of the cloth, it was necessary that two women should be employed in weaving a hammock, for the Caraibs had not skill and industry sufficient to make looms; but the woof was fastened to pieces of timber, placed for the purpose on each side of the carbet, and when they had ascertained the length and breadth of the hammock, they then inserted the warp, alternately over and under the threads of the woof; the threads of the warp were beaten together with a hard and weighty kind of wooden knife, which answered the purpose of the lathe of a loom, forced the threads into their proper place, and made the work uniform. Their hammocks were much superiour to those used at sea; being stronger, more uniform, and not so liable to stretch.

The Caraibs were generally rather above a middling stature, well made and proportioned, and their countenances were rather agreeable. Their foreheads had an extraordinary appearance, as they were flat, or rather sunken and hollow, like the foreheads of many of the Indians. Their heads were shaped like those of other people, when they were born; but the heads of infants were made flat by force; a board being bound tight on their foreheads, by a ligature which was wound round their heads, and

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left there till the heads of the infants had taken the desired form. The forehead then continued flat, so that they could see perpendicularly when standing erect, and over their heads when lying down; which were the objects aimed at by this mode of disfiguration. They had small black eyes, but the flatness of their foreheads made their eyes appear rather larger than they would otherwise have done. Their teeth were beautifully white and even; their hair was long and of a glossy black. The shining of the hair was occasioned by their anointing it with the oil of the palmachristi, which they called carapat. It was difficult to judge of the colour of their skin, because they were always painted with roucou, which gave them the appearance of boiled lobsters. The coat of paint served them as a species of clothing, preserved their skins from the hot rays of the sun, and defended them against the mosquetos and gnats, which would nearly have devoured them, had their skins been naked; but those insects have a great antipathy to the roucou. They considered their coat of red paint as a great ornament; and when they made formal visits to persons of great consequence, their wives, who painted them, added black mustachios, and other black strokes on their faces, with the juice of the genipa apple. Every morning, or whenever they rose from their hammocks, they washed themselves in the sea, or some river, and when the sun had dried them, they sat in their carbets until their wives had tied their hair, oiled it, and after dissolving some roucou in the carapat or castor oil, they painted them with a brush, from head to foot. The black

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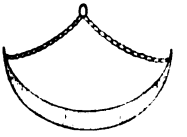
Caraib Man & Woman.

Caraib Mace or Club.

Caraib Carbet left open to shew the Hammocks.



The Caracoli.

Engraved for the American Antiquarian Society.

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streaks on their faces lasted about nine days, after which they wore off. The Caraibs thought this hideous disfiguration to be the most gallant and becoming thing imaginable; though nothing could appear more disagreeable and disgusting to an European. Round the waist they had a band or belt, which served to support some small weapon, and it also had annexed to the front of it a slip of cloth five or six inches wide, and of a suitable length.—The male children wore the belt without any cloth, until they were ten or twelve years old. Their countenances had a cast of melancholy, but they were said to be harmless, inoffensive people, until they were inflamed by passion, which transformed them into furies.

The women were not so tall as the men, but they were equally well made, and tolerably fat. Their eyes and hair were black, their faces round, their mouths small, and their teeth beautiful. They had a gay and lively air, and their countenances were smiling, and much more agreeable than those of the men; but they were, notwithstanding, perfectly reserved and modest. They were painted red with roucou, the same as the men, but without the mustachios, or black lines. Their hair was tied at the back of their heads, with a cotton fillet. To the belt round the waist, they had fastened in front a small piece of cotton cloth, worked, embroidered and ornamented with grains, or beads of different colours—such as they made their necklaces of; it was also ornamented by a fringe of necklaces, three inches wide. This article was called the camisa; it was four or five inches deep, exclusive of the

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fringe, and eight or ten inches wide. The belt, or cord which fastened it around the loins, was attached to each side of the camisa. Most of the women had round their necks several strings of beads of different colours and sizes, which hung down on the breast; and five or six bracelets of the same kind, which were fixed on the wrists and above the elbows. Blue stones, or strings of beads, hung as pendants from their ears. Infants at the breast, and children of eight or ten years of age, had bracelets, and a girdle of large beads round the waist.

A species of ornament which was peculiar to the women, was a kind of buskin, which was made of cotton. It was fixed just above the ancle, and extended four or five inches above it. When the girls were about twelve years of age, for the Caraibs were not very exact in their computations of time, they received the camisa instead of the girdle of beads, which they wore till then; and the mothers, or some of the relations, made the buskins for their legs. Those they never put off, until they were worn out, or torn by some accident. They had no method of taking them off, for they were made on the legs, where they were intended to remain.—They were so tight, that they could not slip either upwards or downwards. At the age when they were put on, the legs were not full grown; therefore, as they increased in growth, the buskins caused the calves to grow much larger and harder than they would naturally have been. The buskins had, at each edge, a border made so strong that it stood out like the edge of a plate. The upper border was about an inch, the under one about half an inch

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wide. The buskins were pretty ornaments for the legs of women—they wore them all their lifetime, and were buried in them. When the young women had assumed the camisa and the buskins, they no longer lived among the boys with the same familiarity as before; but remained continually with their mothers—hence it is evident, much regard was paid to decency and propriety of conduct. It was rare, however, that a girl remained till that age, without being engaged by some boy, who, after having declared his will, considered her as his future spouse, and waited for her to become of a proper age. Among them, parents had a right to take the daughters of their relations, and often did take them at the age of five years, and bring them up for wives for their sons. Only two degrees of kindred were prohibited marrying by the Caraibs; that is, mothers and their children, and brothers and sisters. There was no limit to the number of wives—a Caraib took as many as he chose; and frequently married several sisters, who were his cousins german, or his nieces. They pretended they should love each other the better, on account of their being brought up together, as well as be better acquainted with each other, be the more ready to serve each other, and that the wives would be the more obedient to their husbands. For the Caraibs, like other savages, including white savages, considered their wives as their servants; and whatever regard they had for them, that did not exempt them from those duties and services which are commonly required, or the submission and respect with which those services were usually accompanied.

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The Caraibs were melancholy, idle, and the most indifferent of all created beings. They passed whole days in their hammocks, or in getting in and out of them. Only three things could rouse them from their state of indifference. 1. In regard to their wives they were so extremely jealous, they would kill them on the slightest suspicion of infidelity. 2. They were so excessively vindictive, that when their passions were aroused, no people in the world could be more vigorously active, or seek with more unremitting perseverance for opportunities to revenge an affront. 3. They had a most ardent passion for rum, and other strong liquors, and they would give all they possessed for an opportunity to indulge in them to excess. Those three instances excepted, nothing in the world could rouse them into action. In their drunken fits they were most dangerous; for if they then remembered to have received any injury or affront from persons present, they would dash their brains out with a club, or murder them in some sly manner. If the person so slain had no relations or friends, no inquiry was made respecting the business; but if the person attacked was only wounded, and afterwards recovered; or if the murdered man had any relations, it was necessary for the assailant to shift his residence to an unknown spot in some other island, if he wished to escape vengeance; for, in this respect, the Caraibs were like the North American Indians, they knew not what it was to pardon a wrong, or to be reconciled to an enemy; and no person dared to interfere for the purpose of bringing about an accommodation of the difference.

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In their wars, they were murderous and cruel.—The heads of their arrows were barbed and poisoned; and they were fastened to the shaft in such a way, that when they penetrated a body, the shaft would fall off, and the head remained in the wound. Sometimes it was difficult to find the head, and it consequently remained a long time in the wound. In some situations, they were obliged to force it out at the opposite side of the wounded member, instead of drawing it out. Thus it often happened that the poison remained long enough in the wound to prove mortal; for if it communicated to the vitals before the arrowroot, which is the only effectual antidote, could be administered, the case was without remedy.

They had some very extraordinary customs respecting deceased persons. When one of them died, it was necessary that all his relations should see him and examine the body, in order to ascertain that he died a natural death. They acted so rigidly on this principle, that if one relation remained who had not seen the body, all the others could not convince that one that the death was natural.—In such a case, the absent relative considered himself as bound in honour to consider all the other relations as having been accessaries to the death of the kinsman; and did not rest until he had killed one of them to revenge the death of the deceased. If a Caraib died in Martinico or Guadaloupe, and his relations lived in St. Vincents, it was necessary to summon them to see the body; and several months sometimes elapsed before it could be finally

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interred. When a Caraib died, he was immediately painted all over with roucou, and had his mustachios and the black streaks in his face made with a black paint, which was different from that used in their lifetime. A kind of grave was then dug in the carbet where he died, about four feet square, and six or seven feet deep. The body was let down in it, when sand was thrown in, which reached to the knees, and the body was placed on it in a sitting posture, resembling that in which they crouched round the fire or the table when alive, with the elbows on the knees, and the palms of the hands against the cheeks. No part of the body touched the outside of the grave, which was covered with wood and mats, until all the relations had examined it. When the customary examinations and inspections were ended, the hole was filled, and the bodies afterwards remained undisturbed.—The hair of the deceased was kept tied behind. In this way bodies have remained several months without any symptoms of decay, or producing any disagreeable smell. The roucou not only preserved them from the sun, air, and insects during their lifetime, but probably had the same effect after death. The arms of the Caraibs were placed by them when they were covered over for inspection; and they were finally buried with them.

After the Caraibs became acquainted with the Europeans, they made an addition to their dress, of an article called a pagn, which was worn by the women. It was a slip of cloth, wrapped twice round the body, under the armpits, and formed a kind of sash, the ends of which usually hung down

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to the middle of the leg. This ornament was put on only when company arrived, or when visits were made. Some of the men adopted the use of drawers.

The Caraibs were hunters and fishermen. Their food was generally roasted or broiled; as they did not relish any thing which was boiled, or stewed, except crabs. Their meat and small birds they stuck on a kind of wooden spit, which was fixed in the ground before the fire, perpendicularly or obliquely, and they turned it occasionally until all the slices of meat, or the birds, were roasted. The largest birds, such as parrots, pigeons, &c. they threw on the fire without picking, or drawing them, and when the feathers were burnt they raked the bird up in the cinders, or ashes, until it was done. On taking it from the ashes, the crust formed by the burnt feathers easily peeled off, and the bird was perfectly clean and delicate. Those who have eaten of birds cooked in this manner, have affirmed that they were superiour in flavour, and more savoury and tender, than those cooked in the European manner. Their fish they threw on the fire pellmell, among the wood, coals and ashes; where they looked like the end of burnt sticks.—When roasted, the fish were found to have retained all their fat, juices, and a delicious flavour. At their meals, they commonly used two mattatous or tables, one for the cassada or cassava, which was their bread; the other for the fish, fowls or birds, crabs, pimentado, and other articles. The pimentado was made of the juice of manioc, which they boiled, and in which they infused a quantity of

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pounded pimento with the juice of lemon, or some other acid. This was their favourite sauce, and they used it with all sorts of meat, fowl and fish; but they made it so hot that nobody but themselves could eat it. They made a stew of the crabs, which they called tawmali or tawmawlee; and they generally had before them a basket of crabs, which had been boiled in a kind of trough or box. The fish, when roasted, were drawn out of the crust formed by the fins and scales, in the same manner as they would have been drawn out of a case. The mattatou served for plates as well as table, and was open to all comers; for whoever entered the carbet at meal time, had, by immemorial custom of the Caraibs, a right to squat down and partake of the repast. No one was forbidden; and this custom was so well understood as to render it unnecessary to invite any one to eat. They never gave invitations. They stooped on their haunches, like monkeys, round their mattatous, and ate with surprising appetite, without speaking a single word. They picked the smallest legs of the crabs with admirable quickness and address. When they had finished their meals, they rose with as little ceremony as they used in squatting down. Those who were thirsty, refreshed themselves with water, or other beverage; some smoked, others lounged in the hammocks, and a group or party sometimes engaged in conversation. The women waited on the men, but were never suffered to eat with them.—If there was only one Caraib in the carbet, his largest boys sat down with him; but his wives were obliged to dine with the girls and the young

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children in the kitchen. Thither, as soon as the men had dined, they removed the mattatous and the provisions which remained. While the mothers arranged their dinners in the kitchen, the girls swept the earbet where the men had eaten; wives, daughters, and young children then squatted, as the men had done, round the mattatous, and with equal good will and vigour discussed their contents.

The Caraiba made several kinds of beverage, some of which have been approved and imitated by the Europeans. One kind they called weecou, or weecoo. They made grey earthen jars, some of which would contain fifteen or twenty gallons; and they had of various other sizes down to a pint.—The largest were used for making the weecoo. One of them was filled within five or six inches of the top, and they then put into it some broken cassava, with a dozen sweet potatoes cut into quarters, three or four quarts of some sweet juice; or, when they had sugar canes, they took a dozen ripe canes, which they cut small and bruised, with as many ripe plantains, or bananas, also well bruised; the mouth of the jar was then close stopped, and the contents were left to ferment two or three days, at the end of which period, the crust which had been formed on the surface by the scum was taken off with a skimmer, or piece of a calabash, in which they had burnt small holes. The liquor then resembled beer, both in colour and quality; it was strong, nourishing and refreshing; and the Caraibs often became intoxicated with this their favourite beverage. On the occasion of their festivals, they made some weecoo which was prodigiously strong;

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with this they had their drunken frolicks; and under its pernicious influence they practised their murderous revenge, and the feast often became a scene of uproar, contention and bloodshed.

Another sort of liquor they made was called mabee; but it was not so popular as the weecoo.—This was made by putting six or seven pots of water in a jar, to which was added two quarts of fine sirup, twelve red potatoes, and a dozen of Seville oranges quartered. This liquor was fermented sufficiently for use in thirty hours, and was much like perry. It was, apparently, extremely refreshing, and more agreeable, both in regard to the colour and the flavour, than the weecoo; but in reality it was pernicious to the health, and a little of it produced intoxication. If drunk to excess, it was the cause of flatulencies and cholick.

Beside those kinds of beverage, after the cashou and the pine apple, or anana, were introduced into the islands, the Caraibs made two kinds of what might be called wine, from the cashou and the pine apples, which were very powerful and intoxicating. The juice of the pine apple, after fermentation, is extremely caustick, and it was dangerous to drink much of it.

The manioc, whence the cassava or cassada is made, was a great article of food among the Caraibs. The parts used for food, grow at the root of a shrub, which rises seven or eight feet high, and grows about the size of a man's arm. It has a thin bark, which is grey, red, or violet coloured, according as the colour of the wood may be which it covers.—The trunk and the branches are full of knots,

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which shew where the leaves fall off; for as the trees in this climate increase in bulk, they continue to drop the old leaves. The leaves of the manioc grow in bunches, and are shaped nearly like those of some sweet potatoes. The wood is soft and brittle, and the plant grows much better from slips, than from the seed it produces. The principal root pushes out three or four other roots around it. Independent of those, six or seven more roots issue from the stem, of a size and length proportioned to the age of the tree and the goodness of the soil.—The ordinary size of the roots is equal to that of the beet, but sometimes they grow much larger. They are of the consistency of parsnips, and commonly ripen in about eight months. The best is called the white, or osier manioc, and it is that only which ripens in so short a period. The broad-leaved, red, and other sorts of manioc, require sixteen or eighteen months to bring them to maturity. The manioc was planted in trenches, about two feet and a half asunder, and six inches deep. Slips from fifteen to eighteen inches long were laid in, one end of which was left out of the ground; the rest was covered with the earth which had been thrown out of the trench. It was necessary to keep the plants free from weeds. When ripe, the shrub and roots were all dug up together like potatoes. This was easily done, as the roots do not penetrate very far into the ground. When the roots were taken up, the bark or skin was scraped off just as parsnips are scraped, and thrown into some vessel, where they were well washed, and afterwards scraped or grated fine, something like horseradish. After

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this it was put into a cylindrical strainer, made of split flags, or the bark of a tree called the Latania, which appears to be a species of the trumpet tree. The strainer was six or seven feet long, and four or five inches in diameter. It was woven something like a cotton stocking, in order that it might be expanded to receive the manioc, and contract for the purpose of expressing the juice. When filled, the diameter was increased, and the length was of course diminished, and it was hung on the limb of a tree, with a basket of stones fastened to the bottom, which gradually forced out the juice of the manioc, which is of a poisonous quality; and the operation of expressing it was much facilitated by the contractile power of the strainer. When the manioc was dry, it was grated or pounded into flour, and from it was made the cassada, which was, and still is, in many of the tropical parts of America, the bread used by the natives.

It is highly necessary to express the juice, for while the manioc retains it, it proves mortal to man and beast. It is considered as a powerful poison. But it has been supposed this juice is not a poison, and that it is merely indigestible; for the animals which have died in consequence of eating it, have not had their noble parts inflamed; the breast was merely swelled, so that it was supposed they were merely suffocated, because the substance was not fermentable, and therefore did not descend into the duodenum. Others have been of opinion that the malignant quality of the juice of the manioc consists in the coldness of it, which causes it to benumb the spirits and stop the circulation of the blood, with-

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out producing any material injury to the organs. The operation of the manioc was nearly similar to that of young, green clover, on cattle, by which they are often killed, unless means can be found to dissipate the quantity of air it generates: the best remedies in both cases being the same; that is, the exciting violent motion by walking, running and rubbing, and by swallowing brandy, sweet oil, theriaca, and other medicines of a similar description, which revive the spirits, and restore the respiration. Another remedy for the effect of the manioc, is by swallowing oil of olives and lukewarm water, which operates as an emetick, and brings relief. The juice of ananas and citron is also given, perhaps upon the principle which considers vegetable acids as among the best antidotes to vegetable poisons. That the juice of the manioc is not a real poison is evident, because, on being boiled, it loses all its deleterious qualities; and the Caraibs used it not only in their weecoo, but in all their sauces. Before the arrival of the Europeans, their manioc grater was made out of a root or limb of a tree which had sharp prickles on it, like the sand box, or prickly aloe tree; or they supplied the place of prickles, by means of sharp splinters of wood inserted in a stick, which served as a rasp or grater. When the manioc was sufficiently pressed, they took daily what they wanted for current consumption, and pressed it into cakes, after having passed the flour through a sieve made of reeds, or the fibres of the latania; which instrument served to break the lumps into which the manioc had been pressed, and take out all the pieces which had not

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been well grated, as well as to pulverize it as much as was necessary. Before the Europeans carried plates of iron to the West-Indies, the Caraibs baked their cassava upon flat stones, or flints, which were nearly of the colour of iron. The stones were chipped to a proper degree of thinness. Many of them are found to this day on the coasts of the Westindia islands; and with them are often dug up earthen figures of monkeys and other animals, which some have supposed to have been the idols used by the Caraibs in their worship; but it is more likely those images were used by the pretenders to magick; for some negro Obeah men, or magicians, have been known to use such in their mysteries. Some negro conjurors, who doubtless were Ventriloqui, have been known to cause voices to be heard from those images. The stone griddles were about two feet long, and fifteen inches wide, very smooth, and must have been formed by very hard tools. The stone was heated over the fire, until a finger could not be borne on it, when it was covered to the thickness of three fingers with the cassava paste. The thickness diminished as it baked, and the parts were united or incorporated, so as to become a solid cake. Those who attended the baking, assisted this part of the process by often pressing down the parts with a wooden spatula. When the under side no longer adhered to the griddle, it was judged to be sufficiently baked, and it was turned by means of the spatula, which was passed between the griddle and the cake. When fully baked on both sides, it was exposed two or three hours to the sun, with a view to extract whatever

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humidity remained. The cake when dry was only two or three lines thick at the edge, and a little more in the middle. The outside acquired the colour of gold in baking, but the inside was white as snow, and the appearance of the cake altogether was most delicate and inviting. Though the islands of the Caraibs produced salt, they never used any; therefore the taste of the cassava was rather insipid. It would keep several months, if kept in a dry situation and sometimes exposed to the sun—indeed it has been kept for years. It is a most nourishing and wholesome kind of food, easy of digestion; and when Europeans become used to it, they like it as well as bread made from wheat—the Creoles prefer it. The cassava swells when soaked in water, which is a proof that it is of a nourishing and substantial quality. A cake of cassava three or four lines thick, and twentythree or twentyfour inches diameter, will weigh two pounds. It has some of the roughness of meal made from indian corn or barley.

Since the Europeans have undertaken to raise manioc in the islands, they have made some improvements in the mode of manufacturing it. They press it in boxes with a lever; and this machine is much like the old fashioned wine and cider presses. They also dry it in copper stoves into a kind of flour or meal, after which operation it is barrelled, and becomes an article of commerce. The manioc raised in Jamaica is made into small thin cakes, not much larger than the Roman Catholick host. It is as crisp as a wafer. After being used to it, it becomes very pleasant food, although rather insipid at

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first. The Caraibs had another sort of manioc among them which has not any poisonous or offensive quality. In Jamaica it is called cassada. The roots it produces nearly resemble parsnips, but they are much more firm and dry. Some of it is white withinside, and some has the appearance of yellow suet. It is a pleasant and substantial kind of food; and, either roasted or boiled, is used as a substitute for bread. Very good puddings or cakes may be made from it. The white people call this cassada, as well as yams, plantains, sweet potatoes, &c. by the name of *bread kind.*

I cannot ascertain whence the bananas and plantains originally came. Some authors affirm that they are natives of Africa; others say they came from the continent of America, where they grow to a prodigious size. I can find no traces of them in a wild state here, though it is true that the woods in Jamaica produce wild plantain trees, which are much like those that are cultivated; but the flower they bear is unlike that of the fruitful plantain, and they do not bear any fruit. Whether cultivation would cause them to bear fruit, is more than I can affirm; but I find it mentioned by writers who flourished more than a century ago, that the Caraibs had plantains and bananas among them in their time, and that they used them for provisions in their sea voyages. The trees, or plants, which produce the plantains and bananas, are so much alike, that none but those who are well acquainted with them can distinguish one from the other. The stems of some of them are near a foot in diameter at the bottom, and grow tapering to the height of twelve or

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fifteen feet. The leaves grow in clusters at the top, and spread round like the leaves of a palm tree. Some of the leaves are ten or twelve feet long, and upwards of two feet broad. From the top issues a singular flower, not devoid of beauty and elegance, which is succeeded by a cluster of plantains or bananas, or a stem which descends curvilineally, and has a large purple cone at the end, which looks like a weight intended to keep it down. The fruit grows circularly, or rather spirally, round the stalk which issues to support it. Some of the bananas produce near one hundred and fifty figs, as the French call them, each being about four inches long, and three or four inches in circumference. The fruit is enclosed in a shell not unlike that of a Windsor bean in substance, but much more tender. The whole of the pulp is eatable, and is excellent either raw, roasted, or fried. The French call them figues, and the plants figuiers. When mixed up with flour they make fritters superiour to those made with apples. The plantains very much resemble the bananas, but the fruit is more than double the length—from eight to forty or fifty plantains grow on a plant. They are commonly gathered green, and roasted or boiled. If left to ripen, they are delicious, either roasted or fried. These make a very important article of food for the negroes, and many white people eat them as a substitute for bread. The names we use are those previously adopted by the Spaniards. The French call the plantains bananes, and the bananas figues. The Caraibs, as before observed, made use of plantains for their provisions in sea voyages. For this

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purpose, they gathered them perfectly ripe, and mashed them into a paste, which they passed through a sieve. It was then made into cakes, which were dried in the sun, or under hot embers. When dried by the fire, the cakes were wrapped in leaves of the wild plantain. The cakes were diluted in water when used; by making the solution very thin it became a pleasant beverage; for the ripe plantains, as well as the bananas, have in them both an agreeable sweetness and piquancy.

The Caraibs seem to have been the most expert of all the savage inhabitants of America in maritime affairs. They had two sorts of vessels for performing their voyages between St. Vincents, Dominica, Guadaloupe, and Martinico. One kind was called becassas, with three masts and square sails; the others, called pirogues, had only two masts. The pirogues were about thirty feet long by four and a half feet wide in the middle. They were elevated at the ends, where they were about fifteen inches wide. Eight or nine banks or seats were made in them of planks, not sawed, but split out and made smooth. About eight inches behind each seat was a brace of wood, about the size of a man's arm, fastened to each side of the vessel, and, being higher than the seat, served to support the rowers sitting on the benches. The edges of the pirogue had holes in them, through which cords of maho were inserted; and by those ropes their hammocks, provisions, and various other articles, were suspended.

The becassa was about fortytwo feet long, and seven feet wide in the middle. The head was rais-

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ed and pointed, nearly like that of a pirogue, but the stern was flat, and cut into a poop. Their earthen ware, and various other articles, shew that the monkey was an object of imitation, if not of veneration, among the Caraibs. They had awkward figures of monkeys at the sterns of several of their vessels. Those they painted black, white and red. The becassa had seats or banks, like those of the pirogue. The vessels of the Caraibs were built of the Westindia cedar, by them called cashou.—It is a valuable kind of wood, and scarcely inferiour to the mahogany in beauty. The trees grow to a prodigious size. One of them made the keel of a vessel. It was felled with immense labour, hewed to a proper degree of thickness, well wrought, and made very smooth; and if any addition to the height of the sides was required, planks were added to them. This operation was performed by means of sharp hatchets made of flint. The Caraibs had not the saw, nor had they invented the rudder. The steersman sat astern, and steered with a paddle, which was full a third larger than the common sized paddles used for rowing. The paddle was made in the shape of an oven shovel, five or six feet long—the handle comprised about three-fourths of the length—it was round. The broad part was about eight inches wide, and an inch and a half thick in the middle; but it was tapered to the thickness of about six lines at the edges. Two grooves were cut to the bottom of the paddle, which seemed to mark the course of the handle through the broad part. On the end of the handle was sometimes fastened a transverse piece, like the handle of

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a shovel, which served to hold when steering. The Caraibs made use of paddles to row with, as well as to steer; but they did not sit, like rowers, with their faces towards the stern; they kept their faces towards the prow of the becassa, or pirogue, or canoe. Those who were on the starboard side of the vessel held the handle of the paddle, about a foot above the broad part, with the right hand, and the transverse piece in the left hand. They bent the body forwards on striking the paddle into the water, and raised themselves as they drew it backwards; by which operation they threw the water behind them, and gave an impetus to the vessel, which was rapidly impelled forward. Those on the larboard side of the boat had, of course, the left hand lowest on the paddles, and the right hand at the top, and they rowed in concert with those on the other side. The paddles had some advantages over oars. In a canoe or boat that was three feet wide, two men could sit on a bench and use their paddles, which they could not do with oars; therefore the vessel would carry twice the number of passengers when paddles were used; and as the power of three paddles is equal to that of two oars, the vessel worked by paddles would have one third more force than one of the same size worked by oars, but the labour of working them is more severe. Paddles do not make that thumping which is made by oars on the sides of the boat. The buccaneers learned from the Caraibs the method of using paddles, which were of great use to them in making descents and surprisals in the night, either by landing, or boarding vessels. The dashing of the water was not per-

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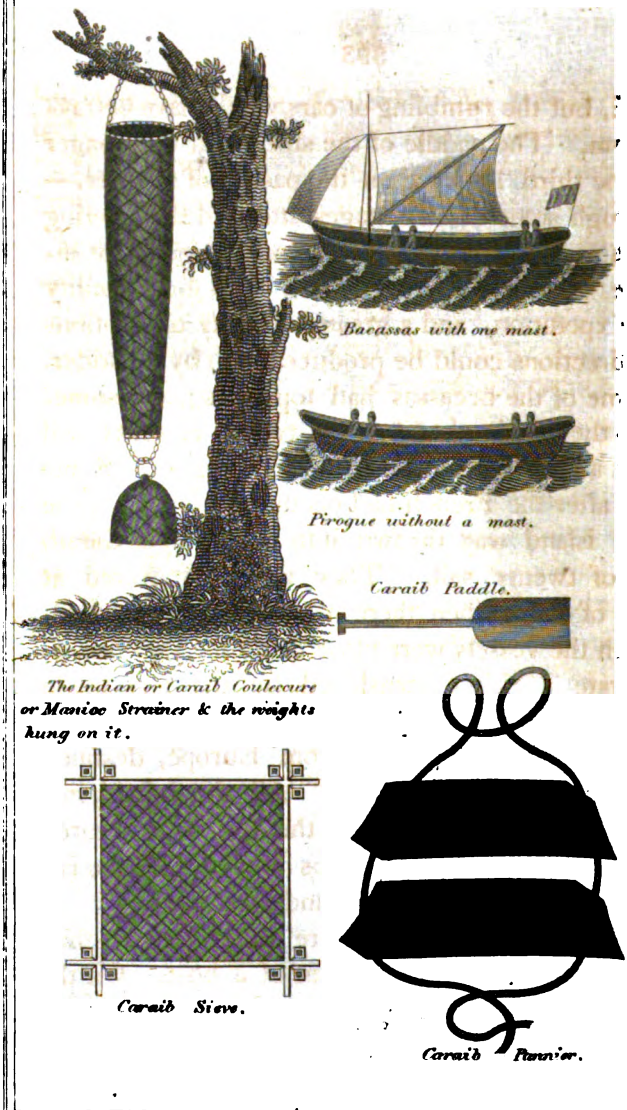

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ceived, but the rumbling of oars would have betrayed them. The paddle of the steersman was longer and one third larger than the paddle of a rower.—Although some disadvantages attended the steering with a paddle, there were some advantages; for instance, the boat could be tacked with more facility and expedition, and a greater variety of motions and directions could be produced than by a rudder.

Some of the becassas had topmasts; and sometimes the Caraibs had fleets of twenty or thirty sail out at a time, of the becassas and pirogues. Some years after the French had occupied Martinico, the whole island was thrown into alarm by a Caraib fleet of twenty sail. They were discovered at break of day, when there was some fog; and, although the vessels were close in shore, the deceptive state of vision occasioned by the fog, made them appear as if they were off at sea, and they were supposed to be a fleet from Europe, destined for an attack upon the island. All the inhabitants were soon under arms; but the fog soon cleared away—the inoffensive Caraibs landed, and the islanders dismissed their arms and their fears.

No people in the world were more expert than the Caraibs in the management of a boat. On the windward side of some of the islands of the Caraibs, the sea has an extraordinary motion, particularly where the coast is high. Seven enormous waves break on the shore successively, with astonishing violence, and a calm for a short space of time intervenes between each seven waves. The last three waves are the largest. Amidst those waves, the

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Caraibs would land, and draw their vessels on dry land, fixing them on stones placed on purpose to receive them. When they reembarked, they deposited all their goods, their wives and children in the boat. The women and children sat down in the middle of the bottom of the boat; the men range themselves along side, each one against the seat he was to occupy, where his paddle was placed ready to be seized with that expedition which was requisite. When the great waves broke on shore, and the steersman saw the critical moment, he gave a shout, and the boat was in a moment launched into the water. The men then sprung into the boat, the steersman last, and they paddled with all their might to prevent the succeeding wave from dashing them on shore, which it would doubtless have done, had they met it with the head of their boat; but they rowed in a slanting or transverse direction; and their boat appeared clinging to the mountain surge as it were a polypus to a rock, threatening to fall off into the gulph below, to the no small terror of beholders. When it mounted on the top of the wave, the bows of the boat rose high in the air, but presently it was balanced on the back or ridge of the surge, and both ends were suspended in air; it then descended in a similar manner on the other side of the wave. This process was repeated with every fresh swell; and nothing but the greatest courage, address and skill could have conducted them through the dangerous navigation.

When the Caraibs made a voyage for pleasure, they took with them their wives, children, hammocks, their kitchen utensils, and their arms. But

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when they were at war, and projected a descent upon any of their neighbours, they took only one or two women in a boat, for the purpose of preparing their provisions, and painting them with the roucou.

Speaking of their wars, leads us to give some account of their arms. The chief of those was the bow, which was about six feet long. It was made of letter wood, which is of a brown colour, with some waves or rays of a reddish brown. It was rounded about a foot at each end, which parts of it were about ten lines diameter, with notches for the string. From the ends, the size increased to an inch and a half diameter in the middle, where the outside was oval, and the inside, that is, the part where the string was fastened, was flat. The wood was heavy, compact, and very stiff. Their bows were neatly finished, particularly after they had exchanged their hatchets and chissels of flint for European tools. The bow was straight, without the smallest curvature. The bowstring, from the notches at the ends, was exactly the length of the bow, without being either strained or left loose.—It was made of peet, or the carata, and about three lines in diameter.

Their arrows were made of that end of the reed, which in some countries is called the spindle, in others the arrow; it runs up above the leaves, and bears the tassel, or flower. They were about three and a half feet long, including the point, which was seven or eight inches, and of the same size as the reed, on which it was grafted, and securely fastened with cotton thread. The point was made of that

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kind of wood called green wood, which is very hard; it was made sharp at the end. This part was cut into sharp pointed barbs, which were well wrought, and so contrived, that they did not prevent the arrow from penetrating into the man, or other animal against which it was discharged. But they proved a very great obstruction to drawing the arrow out of a wound, as it could not be extracted without considerably enlarging the orifice, or pushing the arrow through the wounded part, and thus increasing the depth if not the width of a wound.—Although the green wood of which the point was made, is naturally very hard, the Caraibs increased the hardness of it by covering it with hot cinders, which seasoned it rapidly, by extracting any humid particles which might have remained, and by closing all the pores. The shaft of the arrow was all plain and smooth, except a barb or notch at the end, to fit the string, and to prevent its slipping when discharged from the bow. Sometimes they split their arrows about six inches from the end, and ornamented them with the feathers of parrots, and other birds, which were bound into them, in the manner the "grey goose wing" was formerly attached to the arrows of the Europeans. Those were not very common among the Caraibs; and it was equally rare to find among them arrows which were not poisoned. The diabolical system of poisoning their arrows, they practised in the following manner. A cleft was made in the bark of the poisonous manchineel tree, in which they put the ends of their arrowheads, until they had imbibed the thick, viscous and poisonous milk of that deleteri-

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ous tree. After being dried, they were wrapped in leaves of the cachibo or palm tree, and laid by, ready for use.

When they wished to extract the poison from their arrows, they put the points of them into fiery embers, and scraped off the outside of the part which had been poisoned, until the whole was clean, after which they again passed them through the fire. By this process, they pretended that the poison was entirely extracted; but no prudent person would have ventured to prove the fact experimentally.

The arrows used for the purpose of killing birds of the large kind, such as pigeons, parrots, partridges, hawks, owls, herons, &c. had the points quite plain, without either barbs or poison. Those used to kill small birds, had a little bunch of cotton at the end, which prevented the arrow penetrating them, and spoiling their feathers by means of the blood. The birds were killed by the violence of the blow given by the blunt end of the arrow, which was like a foil. Another kind of arrow was used for killing fish in rivers or on shore, where there was not more than three or four feet of water; those were of one piece of wood, with a long barb. They were extremely expert with the bow.

The boys also had bows and maces proportioned to their strength; and they took so much exercise with the bow, that when they were very young, they seldom missed so inconsiderable an object as a small bird.

The Caraibs had another very formidable weapon for close combat, a kind of club or mace, which was about two inches thick throughout, except at

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the handle, where it was rather less. It was two inches wide at the handle, and four or five inches at the other end. It was made of very hard wood; and the edges, or rather the corners, of it were sharp. The sides of it were engraved in various compartments and figures, and the lines of the engraving were filled with paint of divers colours, which was considered as highly ornamental.

The facts already mentioned are sufficient to convince us that the Caraibs were capable of manufacturing such articles as they found necessary, as well as that they were not wholly destitute of a taste for the fine arts; and this was farther illustrated by their manufactures of the caracoli, the roucou, and various other articles.

The collars of necklace, the bracelets, the camisas, and the buskins, were confined to the women; the ornaments, made of the metal called caracoli, were exclusively appropriated to the men. The metal and the ornaments bore the name of caracoli. It came from the South American continent, and has been supposed to be a simple metal; but no one, except the Indians, could ever find it; therefore many people have been of opinion it was a composition made by them. The English and French jewellers have attempted to make caracoli; but they have never been able to arrive at an exact imitation of it. For the caracoli of the Caraibs appears like silver covered over with some inflammable or rather inflamed substance; and the radiance and brilliance of it is matchless; nor will it tarnish although it lies ever so long in the earth or in the sea. The nearest the European jewellers can approach this

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beautiful metal, is, by mixing six parts of fine silver, three parts of purified or refined copper, and one part of fine gold. With this composition they make rings, buckles, heads of canes, and other beautiful articles; but owing either to the inadequacy of the metal, or the inferiority of the polish, it is not equal to the Indian caracoli.

The caracolis which the Caraibs wore were made in the form of crescents of different sizes, which were adapted to the situations where they were worn. They were suspended by small chains of the same metal, fastened near each end of the crescent, which had a loop or hook in the middle, for the purpose of fastening it to the part where it was worn. A full dressed Caraib wore one in each ear, which was about two and a half inches long; those who had no chains, suspended them by a cotton thread, which was passed through the centre of the crescent, the metal of which was about the thickness of a sixpenny piece. Another caracoli of the same size was attached to the gristle which separates the nostrils, and hung on the mouth. The under part of the lower lip was pierced, and thence hung another caracoli, about a third larger than the others, which reached half way down the neck. In the fifth and last place, they had one six or seven inches long, which was enchased in a small board of black wood, perhaps ebony, and shaped into a crescent. This was fastened round the neck by a small cord, and fell upon the breast. Those disfigurations the Caraibs considered as the most beautiful ornaments; and many who think themselves the most polished and refined people upon earth, are guilty of absurdi-

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ties in dress which are nearly equal to those of the Caraibs. When they did not wear the caracolis, they put sticks in their ears, noses, and lips, to prevent the closing of the holes; and those addenda gave them the appearance of hogs with rings in their noses, and yokes on their necks. They had small green stones, which they used as amulets, and they sometimes inserted them in the bored places instead of the sticks. Instead of sticks and stones, however, they sometimes inserted plumes of parrots' or other feathers, red, blue, green, or yellow, which made mustachios ten or twelve inches long on each side of the mouth, both above and below it. They had others in the ears, and thus made themselves the most grotesque figures in the world. They had a habit of sticking the hair of their children full of feathers of different colours, which was done very prettily, and gave the children a handsome appearance and air.

The roucou annato, or achiote, is a red kind of dyestuff which gives the first tint to red, blue, yellow, green, brown, and some other coloured cloth. The tree which produces it grows in many parts of America. It is about the size of a plum tree, but much more thick and bushy; the bark of it is blackish, the leaves are large, strong, hard, and of a deep green colour. Twice a year it bears red or flesh coloured flowers, in large bunches, which resemble the flowers of the wild rose or the eglantine, to which succeed bunches of pods covered with prickles like those which grow on the husk or bur of a chesnut, but not quite so large; which, on being opened, are found full of seeds, shaped like those of the corian-

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der, and covered with a flesh or carnation coloured pellicle. This skin is, with much difficulty, detached from the skin which it covers, which, when the outer skin is off, is perfectly white and hard.—The pellicles, when pounded and prepared, make the roucou. The Europeans have adopted a cheap and expeditious method of making this article, compared with that used by the Caraibs. They steep it in vats seven or eight days, stirring the seeds occasionally with wooden shovels, until all the pellicles come off; and they are easily separated from the water and the seeds. But the method of the Caraibs was a much slower process; however, the fineness of the roucou paid them for their extra labour, as it was nearly equal to fine carmine, and increased very much when used, that is, a much smaller quantity than of that prepared by the Europeans was necessary for any specifick purpose.—The European dyers will not pay for the expense of making it in the manner of the Caraibs. The Indians, in general, gathered the roucou, shelled out the seeds, and instead of putting them in water, for the purpose of fermenting and loosening the pellicles, they rubbed them with their hands, which they had previously soaked in carapat, or palma-christi oil. In this way they detached the pellicles from the seeds, and reduced them to a fine, clear paste. This they scraped from their hands on a leaf which was proper for the purpose, and set it by in the shade to dry; for they apprehended the sun would diminish the beauty of the colour. The process was tedious and fatiguing, but it happily

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produced employment for the indolent Caraibs. When the roucou was nearly dry, they made it into balls about the size of the hand, and wrapped them in the large and long leaves of the wild plantain, or of the cachebou, and preserved it with great care. It was always ready for use, when having bathed in the sea, or some river, they almost every morning seated themselves in the middle of the carbet, for their wives to paint them and tie their hair.

I have already mentioned the cylindrical baskets, strainers or couleceures of the Caraibs, for straining and pressing the manioc. They had another kind of basket, called the catoli, which the women used for the purpose of carrying to the carbet their manioc, plantains, potatoes, fish, and other provisions. Of the catolis, they had two kinds, one made of open work, the other braided or woven close. The bottom of them was flat, and they were of a pyramidal form, with several sides, so that there was no distinguishing a back or front part. They were very light, convenient, and handsomely finished. The reeds, or fibres of the latanier, of which they were made, were painted of various colours, and worked in compartments, or squares of open work, which were exactly proportioned, and handsomely wrought. Those worked close were so tight that, when filled with water, not a drop would leak out. They carried them at their backs like Europeans, and they were attached to their shoulders by two straps made of cotton. They made other panniers or baskets, which were twice as long as they were wide. They were of various sizes; the largest were three feet long by eighteen or twenty inches

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wide. The smallest were eight or ten inches long by four or five inches wide. The depth was proportioned to the use for which they were intended. Generally, the largest did not exceed nine or ten inches. The bottom was flat, and the sides were straight and perpendicular from the bottom. The top of the pannier, or the cover of it, was of the same size and shape as the bottom, which it fitted with the utmost exactness; but it had only two-thirds the height. It was in these panniers that the Caraibs kept their smallest and most valuable articles, wearing apparel, ornaments, &c. When they went a voyage, the pannier, or basket, was attacked to the side of the boat, and in case the vessel was overset, which was no uncommon case, nothing was lost.

In order to make their basket work, the Caraibs took the fibres of the latanier, split them into several parts, and scraped out the pulp or pith with a muscle shell; after which, they reduced them to the size required. The reeds are much like those which grow in Europe. Those were cut green, before the flowers or tassel appeared, because they were then more tender and pliant than when ripe. They split the reeds into eight parts, scraped out all the pith and every vestige of the knots, or the lower part, and reduced them to the necessary size. When the reeds were properly manufactured, they were white, or of a delicate straw colour; but the Caraibs did not leave them in their natural state—they painted them red, blue, black, yellow, &c. and diversified the colours with much elegance and taste. The baskets were really handsome.

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After they had determined upon the size of the basket, they braided their reeds either into squares or compartments. Those for the close hampers were braided in the closest manner. After the outside of the basket was finished, they made a lining in the same manner, and of the same kind of materials. Between the outside and lining they put leaves of the cachebou, or wild plantain, which were withered in the sun, or over the fire, and thus rendered very strong and tough. The leaves were fitted with so much nicety and exactness, that the panniers would hold water as well as any wooden vessel, and, of course, they would preserve any thing deposited in them from the rain, or the dashing of the waves. The upper part of the basket not only fitted on the under part with the utmost exactness, but it had a double piece of reed sewed round the edge, to make a kind of border to it. If these panniers were wholly immersed in water, it would require some time to fill them, as there is no part which would admit the water, except at the opening. After the Caraibs became acquainted with fire-arms, they deposited their pistols and ammunition in the panniers; and the Europeans found them so useful and convenient, that they also came into the habit of purchasing and using them, particularly for the purpose of conveying their clothes from place to place when they travelled, instead of portmanteaus; for in the islands, when people travel, they carry abundant changes of clothing with them in their portmanteaus, which are carried on the heads of negroes, or behind them on horses, or mules, or on sumpter mules. When ladies travel, several ne-

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groes, commonly women, are sent forward with bandboxes on their heads; which company, in some of the islands, is called the bandbox fleet.

After the English and French settled in the islands of the Caraibs, or the Antilles, the Caraibs supplied them not with baskets only, but with provisions, such as parrots, partridges, large birds called devils, pigeons, crabbers or herons, hogs, lizards, frogs, crabs, ananas, plantains, fish, fowls, and various other articles. The French eat lizards as well as frogs; and the great fat worms which breed in the cabbage palm tree they account a great delicacy. In return for the articles purchased of the Caraibs, the Europeans furnished them with knives, hatchets, hoes, trinkets, cloth, and, above all, rum and brandy. The French formerly called the rum *Eau de vie de cannes*, and they furnished the Caraibs with it.

If a Caraib heard of any thing which suited his fancy, he would make as long a voyage as it was possible for him to make in quest of it, and that in the most dangerous season. Perhaps the article in question would be some trifle, such as a knife, which, after the arrival of the Europeans, became a most popular piece of furniture; a Caraib being seldom seen without one naked in his belt, or open in his hand. Whatever he had fixed on, no other article would he take, not even if a whole house full of goods had been offered as an equivalent. He would give all he possessed for a thing he had set his heart upon; but he would not give the merest trifle for what he did not immediately want. If a Caraib was paid, for what he had sold, in coin, it was necessary to range the money in a straight

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line, like a file of soldiers. If the row was doubled, or the pieces were put one upon another, the additions went for nothing, the whole being considered as only a single rank. A long line of copper coins pleased them as much as it pleased children. In trading, they were impudent rogues; for after having sold any thing, and taken the money for it, they would carry off the articles, and refuse to refund the purchase money. The purchasers who were acquainted with their fantasies, immediately seized and secured what they had bought. It frequently happened that the Caraibs would return and demand the articles they had sold and been paid for; and in those cases, the only peaceable way of getting rid of them was to pretend to know nothing at all about the matter. The Caraibs bought cloth by the arms, i. e. by taking it in their hands, and stretching their arms as wide as possible. What was contained between the hands was called an arm. Six arms of a tall Caraib would make ten French or twelve English ells. No wonder the Caraibs were dishonest; they learned from the Europeans to be so. Even Catholick priests have not scrupled to boast of the dexterity and address with which they duped and overreached the Caraibs.

Near the rivers Amazon and Oronooko, in South America, the Indians found green stones, which were considered as a sovereign remedy in cases of epilepsy. Many Europeans have procured them, and experienced, or fancied they experienced, their efficacy, in preventing fits both of epilepsy and vertigo, and effecting radical cures of those disorders. Father Labat purchased some of them; and, from

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his experience, formed the opinion that they would suspend, but not radically cure, those complaints. He gives an account of a negro who had the epilepsy, which left him on his having a piece of a green stone, about the size of a lentil, inserted in his arm, between the elbow and the shoulder. At the end of three years, the negro cut the flesh which had partly healed over the stone; it fell out, was lost, and the fits of epilepsy returned. He then had a stone inserted in the other arm, which produced the desired effect. How the virtue or sympathy ascribed to this green stone could exist in it, or operate on a patient, is what I cannot conceive. Labat believed it; but Labat was superstitious, as is evident from his *Histories des quelques negres Sorciers*, which he has published, and which he evidently believed to be true. He acknowledges that on the cicatrice, where the stone was inserted, *il y resta toujours une petite gale qui tomboit de tems en tems*: therefore it is evident the stone operated as a seton, and in that way might prove beneficial. It was said that the Portuguese on the banks of the Amazon, and the Dutch in Surinam, knowing the great value the Caraibs and other Indians set on the green stones, fabricated a spurious kind for sale; but it is equally probable that when a true stone failed of producing the required effect, it was considered as a counterfeit. The Indian women believed the green stones were specificks in cases of hemorhage.

The Caraibs were well acquainted with the medicinal virtues of many trees and plants. With the toulola they used to cure the wounds made by poisoned arrows. For this purpose, they took the

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fresh dug roots of the toulola, and made a ptisan of it, which was administered to the wounded person; and it possessed the efficacious power of expelling the poison from the vitals. Cataplasms of the bruised root were also laid on the wounds, whence the poison was soon extracted. But it was necessary the remedy should be speedily applied; for the poison of the manchinel operates rapidly. The parts round the wound soon perished; and if the poison found its way into the blood vessels, it always proved mortal. This noble plant, which was called toulola by the Caraibs, is called arrowroot by the English, and herbe aux fleches by the French, because of its being so powerful an antidote to the poisoned arrows. It is now much cultivated, and makes some of the finest flour in the world. Few of the productions of nature are so nutritive as the arrowroot, or expand so surprisingly when boiled. The price of it is from half a dollar to a dollar a pound, in the islands.

The surf breaks with great violence on the coasts of the islands formerly owned by the Caraibs, and they were obliged to draw their vessels ashore. The hauling them on shore, and again launching them into the water, required much strength and art. The boisterousness of their seas made them skilful navigators. They sailed among all the West-india islands, often visiting Hayti or Hispaniola, which was no inconsiderable voyage. One of the principal reasons of Columbus for supposing there was some country westward of Europe, was grounded on the fact of his having seen the bodies of some copper coloured men floating on the coast of the isl-

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and of Madeira. That those bodies could not have floated all the way from America is certain. There is no current to have carried them there; or, if there had been a current, the bodies would have decayed, or been devoured by fishes, long before they could have arrived at so great a distance. It is more reasonable to suppose that some adventurous Caraibs, on a voyage of discovery, or driven into unknown seas by some tempest or hurricane, were lost on the coast of Madeira; for that island at certain seasons of the year is enveloped in an almost impenetrable haze, which renders it nearly invisible till a vessel comes in contact with the shore. Such a voyage would not have been much more extraordinary than some of the voyages the Caraibs made to the westward. They were well acquainted with the island of St. Domingo, and probably with the whole Gulph of Mexico. The Cacique Caunabo, who was taken by Columbus at the gold mines of Cebao, in St. Domingo, and, forsooth, sent by him as a *rebel* prisoner to Spain, was a Caraib who had advanced himself to a command in that island, by his warlike qualities and abilities.

Crabs were an important article of consumption among the Caraibs. They commonly hunted them by torchlight in the night; for in the day time it is necessary to dig them out of their holes. Their torches were made of candlewood, or reeds bound together. The light enabled them to discover the crabs as they were feeding. They had the art to take parrots alive in the night. Having in the evening observed a tree on which a number roosted,

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they carried under it in the night live coals, on which they dropped a particular kind of gum and green pimento, the fumes of which articles brought the parrots to the ground in a state of intoxication, and they were taken without difficulty. The parrots thus taken they easily tamed, for they would eat as soon as they became very hungry. If they continued savage and untractable, they made them drunk with the fumes of tobacco, until sufficiently tamed. The Caraibs held lizards in abomination; they would not touch one of them as food; but they supplied the French with those animals. In the Carribean islands, the largest of them have their bodies eighteen inches long, and their tails of an equal length. The lizards in Jamaica are seldom more than half that length. The Antilles produce a kind of wood which the French call *bois à enyorer*; this the Caraibs used to cut, and throw into the rivers, and, as far as its influence extended, it stupified all the fish, and caused them to rise upon the water, where they were easily taken. It has been already mentioned that they had arrows for the purpose of killing fish in the rivers and shallow water on the coast. Those arrows were long, and had a rope of considerable length attached to them, with a buoy of light wood at the end. This buoy continued on the surface of the water, and when dragged away by a wounded fish, the Caraib would swim after it, and, by means of the rope, draw the fish on shore. For fishing in calm weather they had a net not unlike a scoop net. In the night they carried a flambeau to the rivers, which attracted the fish to the surface of the water, and they were easily taken in a

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small net. In the day time they often crept into the water, and watched the fish as they hid themselves among weeds, roots, or holes of the rock. If a Caraib saw a fish go to cover, he was almost certain of infallibly catching it by hand.

Those who have attempted to hire Caraibs for servants, have found it impossible to derive any benefit or profit from them; they were excessively fantastical, and too lazy to work; and so great was their pride, they would not suffer themselves to be either commanded or reprimanded. To look displeased, or to find fault with them, was a mortal affront; and it became a proverb, that to show displeasure to a Caraib, was the same as beating him; and to beat him was the same as to kill him, or cause him to be killed. If they did any thing, it was only what they chose, how they chose, and when they chose; and when they were most wanted, it often happened that they would not do what was required, or any thing else. When desired to hunt, or shoot game, they chose to fish, and probably would neglect the employment they chose. There was no trusting any thing in their power; for they would eat or drink whatever they could lay their hands on without ceremony or discretion.

The Europeans, particularly the French, made slaves of many of the Caraibs. Those they could render in some degree tractable on account of the negroes, between whom and the Caraibs a most mortal and incurable antipathy existed. They thought themselves infinitely superiour to the negroes; and the negroes had a great contempt for them, frequently calling them by the reproachful

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name of savages. That was the greatest of all possible insults and provocations to the Caraibs; and they not unfrequently resented it to the last extremity.

There was great difficulty in marrying the Caraib slaves when they became of proper age; for not many of them would touch a negro woman, nor would many of the negro women marry Caraibs, they having a great dislike to them. And even when Caraibs of both sexes were purchased, there was often much difficulty, although they were of the same country, spoke the same language, and had the same customs. Yet if their tribes were at war, if an ancient hereditary kind of animosity existed between them, or if a Caraib man and woman had any particular dislike or resentment towards each other, their hatred was indelible, their dislike or anger terminated but with life; and it was impossible to persuade them to marry—they seemed to imbibe the principles of hatred with their mother's milk.

The Caraibs, as well as the negroes, when in a state of melancholy, sometimes hanged themselves; or they would eat earth and filth until they brought on dropsies, or other fatal disorders, which occasioned their death. The pernicious habit of eating earth appears to be endemical in the Westindia islands. The white Creoles are not free from a propension to this depraved appetite; and I have heard it much spoken of as prevailing among the people of Georgia and the Carolinas. The Caraib slaves would eat earth whenever they were punished or thwarted.

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The hammocks of the Caraibs were much superiour to those made in Europe; one of them would wear longer than three of those made by the Europeans. The thread of which they were made was stronger and better spun, and they were more firmly woven; yet the spinning wheel was not known among the Caraibs. They had, however, spindles made of the hardest and heaviest wood they could find. One turned the spindle, and another drew out the thread to a great length, something in the manner the country people in America make their ropes. The hammocks being painted, and receiving continually the newly painted Caraibs, they smelled very strong of paint and oil, and unless they were well cleansed and bleached, it is said there was great danger of getting the venereal disease from them.—That odious complaint was natural to the Caraibs and other Westindians, having originated among them; and it was was one of the curses Columbus entailed on the old world; his men having carried the infection to Europe and propagated it there.—The Caraibs cared but little about it, as it was not virulent among them, and they were acquainted with cheap and easy methods of cure.

It is a matter of doubt whether the Caraibs had the art of perforating precious stones, or articles of which they made their beads. Their ancient ornaments of that kind were found set in a kind of net work. In the islands are found various species of the cenobia,* one of which bears a bright red bean.

* Of this kind are the locust trees on the northern continent of America. They are like the Syrian locust tree, bearing a crop of beans annually. In America are two kinds, one bearing long straight pods, re-

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rather flat, and from a quarter to near half an inch in diameter. These the Indians used, and the negroes still use them for beads; they are almost as hard as stones. But after the arrival of the Europeans, the necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments of the Caraibs were made of a kind of alabaster, or enamel of various colours; the beads being all of them pierced, and some of them longitudinally.—With such they made the borders of their buskins and camisas; and the bridal hammock, which was given by the mother, was always fringed with rows of them. Whether they were any of them made by the Mexicans, Peruvians, Caraibs or other Indians, I cannot discover; perhaps they were all the production of Europe. The marriage hammocks were much larger than the common sort, but not any of them were calculated for two persons. Hammocks were used by all the Indians within the tropicks, but with whom the use of them originated is unknown; probably, as formerly conjectured, they were introduced by the Caraibs.

They had some strong prejudices. A man would have been dishonoured forever had he spun or wove cotton, or painted a hammock. This was exclusively the business of the women, by whom the catoli, or market basket, was solely used; for if a Caraib had carried one of them, the disgrace he incurred would have been indelible, and he would have been devoted to infamy. This point of hon-

semblling kidney beans, the other bread, crooked, speckled pods, which appear like snakes. It was the beans, and not the husks of the cerobia, St Luke, xv. 16, which the Prodigal Son lived on; our translators not having been aware that Κεράτιον, *siliqua*, means both the fruit and the husk of the cerobia.

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our was carried to such an extreme, that if a Caraib was obliged by any accident to carry the articles contained in a catoli, he made several journies for them, rather than carry them at once in the basket.

The Caraibs had conveniences for carrying liquors and other articles, made out of calabashes.—These are a kind of gourds growing on trees about as large as a plum, or middle sized apple tree.—The limbs grow out straight, something like those of the American hornbeam when in open ground. The leaves are glossy as the laurel, and nearly in the shape of a large spatula. Some of the calabashes, which are shaped like pumpkins, but of a pale green colour, are large enough to contain two or three gallons. When intended as a substitute for a bottle, the inside is worked out at a small hole where the stem or stalk grew, by means of boiling water, which they stirred about with a stick. When the pulp was out, they put into the shell hot water and sand of a coarse kind, which, on shaking it about in the manner glass bottles are cleansed, gave the inside a very fine polish. When cleansed and dried, they preserved wine and other liquors perfectly, without communicating any disagreeable flavour to them. Some of the calabashes they divided into two, to make wooden bowls or boxes of them, for containing trinkets and other small valuable articles. A string was tied round the middle, which served as a mark or line to cut by; and they ingeniously made a slanting cut through the shell, in such a manner as that one part fitted on the other with the greatest nicety. The inside was easily excavated, and it was polished by means of a muscle shell

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which they used as a scraper. Small calabashes were cut into cups, dippers, spoons, &c. The consistency and hardness of the shell is similar to that of the gourd. Those bowls were used for almost all culinary purposes, and although they are only a species of wood, the Caraibs warmed water in them over the fire; when broken, they made substitutes for spoons with the pieces. Some of the half shells had holes burned in them, and were used as strainers and skimmers; some of the very large calabashes had a fourth or fifth part cut off the middle, and the two ends were joined with sufficient exactness to exclude water, and made boxes for their spices, &c. A box of this description was called a coijambou, or coiamboo. The cocoanut shells were used for various purposes, and many of them, as well as the calabashes, had curious or grotesque figures engraved on them in different compartments. The strokes of the engravings were filled with paint of a variety of colours, and, although they had neither rule, compass nor square, their designs were correct, produced an agreeable effect, and displayed much ingenuity. Some of the negroes now carve or engrave their calabashes in a clumsy manner. Calabash shells are very durable, being proof against the hottest sun.

When Columbus discovered the islands of the Caraibs, during his second voyage to America, anno 1493, we are told that six women put themselves under his protection, and informed him that they were slaves to the Caraibs of the island of Guadaloupe, who had eaten their husbands. He entered a Caraib town, but does not give accounts of any

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very terrible things, or symptoms of cannibalism. On the contrary, several Spaniards roved about the island some days, and returned in safety. In March, 1496, Columbus again touched at Guadaloupe, when, we are told, a number of armed women opposed his landing, and the husbands of those Amazons discharged a shower of arrows at the Spaniards; but a broadside being fired from the ships, the Caraibs fled, the Spaniards landed, burnt their town, after having plundered it, and taken abundance of provisions, honey, wax, *some implements of iron*, and a man's arm roasting on a spit, which was supposed to be intended as a meal for some of them.—They found also human skulls and other bones suspended in baskets; and on touching at Montserrat, Columbus was informed, that *the Caraibs had eaten up all the inhabitants of that island.* If that had been true, it would have been strange that any person should remain to give Columbus the information. These facts ought, probably, to be classed with a great many stories and wonderful events related by voyagers. The Caraibs were a warlike people, and gave the Spaniards some trouble; they were a terror to the other islanders, beating them in war, and on that account, were probably unjustly stigmatized as the most ferocious of cannibals. Their angry passions were terrible, while they lasted; but when they became cool, they treated their prisoners with humanity—in that, they were most unlike the northern Indians. I pretend not to deny that the Caraibs, like the Mohegans or Narragansets, sometimes took a slice of a dead enemy; but

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it is not even pretended that they made trophies of scalps, like the relentless savages of the north. The Spaniards have given *reports* of them; but they have stated no facts from their own observations, to prove that they were gross cannibals. If Columbus found bones and skulls of men, they were probably those of their ancestors and relations, whose bodies were carefully preserved and buried in the carbets where they died. As to the roasted arm of a man, mentioned in the voyage of Columbus, that was a trophy of victory among the Caraibs, and continued to be so two hundred years after his time. Father Labat gives an account of the arrival of fortyseven Caraibs at Martinico from Dominica, in the year 1694, in two vessels, one of which was a pirogue; "in the poop of which, there was the arm of a man barbecued in the buccaneer fashion, that is to say, dried with a slow fire in the smoke. They offered it to me very civilly, and informed me it was the arm of an Englishman, whom they had lately killed in a descent on Barbuda, when they massacred six persons, and brought away a woman and two children."*

The Caraibs were cruelly destroyed—chiefly by the French. Such of them as were found in St. Kitts were massacred, while the island was possess-

* En poupe ils avoit un bras d'homme boucanné, c'est à dire, seché à petitfeu et à la fumée. Ils me l'offrirent, fort civilement, en me disant que c'etoit le bras d'un Anglois qu'ils avoient tué depuis peu, en une descente qu'ils avoient faite à la Barboude, ou ils avoient massacrés six personnes et enlevés une femme et deux enfans. [Those prisoners were afterwards ransomed for four barrels of rum and a musket.] Nouveaux Voyages aux Isles Francoises de l'Amerique. Tom. 1. Par. 2. p. 11.

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ed jointly by the English and French. The French destroyed or expelled them from Martinico and Guadaloupe; for which act they excused themselves, because after they began their settlements in those islands, the Caraibs sometimes murdered stragglers. After many contests, the remains of the Caraibs were driven to Dominica. Those in St. Vincents were sometimes employed by the French against the English, and the English against the French, until they were nearly exterminated.—The remains of that much abused and injured people in Dominica, are said to amount to about thirty families at the present time.

The French *Missionaries* made many attempts to convert the Caraibs to Christianity; but the instances in which they were successful were very few. About the middle of the seventeenth century, the missionaries began to study and to speak their language, and to reside among them. They taught them the catechism, prayers, and other religious exercises; but their labours produced no fruit.—The fathers Raymond, Breton and Philippe De Beaumont, remained twenty five years in Dominica, and all they could do was to baptize a few infants at the point of death, when it was known they could survive only a few moments. It is true they baptized many Caraibs; but they did not make one Christian. The most serious things were to them matters of indifference, and considered by them as a kind of sport; such was the fickleness, indecision, and badness of their dispositions. To some, who earnestly demanded baptism, the fathers refused it, because they knew the object of the candidates was

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merely to procure the presents which were usually given by the godfathers and godmothers. They were always ready to return to their old mode of life, and perfectly willing to be rebaptized at any time. A Caraib would have had no objection to being baptized ten times a day, provided he could get a glass of rum or brandy for each operation.— In this they resembled the northern Indians. It has been said, that a missionary among the Mohegans, offered an Indian a pint of cider for every Indian or squaw he would bring to him to be baptized.— The Mohegan sallied forth, and soon found an Indian dead drunk, whom he took upon his shoulders, carried to the person to be baptized, and demanded the pint of cider.

A man of family and fortune named Chateau Dubois, settled at Guadaloupe, and devoted great part of his life to the conversion of the Caraibs, particularly those of Dominica. He constantly entertained a number of them, caused them to be instructed in the Christian religion, but with the utmost goodness and charity, he taught them himself. He died in the exercise of these pious offices without the consolation of having made one sincere convert; for, although he had several of them baptized, and kept them well a number of years; though they were well instructed, and apparently well grounded in the principles of Christianity, they remembered the obligations of their baptism and the quality of Christians no longer than they remained with Dubois; for when he died and they returned to their own people, they all resumed their old practices of libertinism, and their

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natural indifference for all religion. Some years afterwards, Labat saw one of them in Martinico.—He spoke French correctly, and could read and write; he had been baptized, and was then upwards of fifty years of age. It was hoped he would have assisted the missionaries in the conversion of his brethren, when he returned to Dominica; but, so far from that, he abandoned the Christian religion, and joined in the manners, habits and customs of his countrymen. When reproached on account of his apostasy, he replied, that if he had been born of Christian parents, or, if he had continued to live among the French, he would still have professed Christianity; but having returned to his own country and to his own people, he could not resolve to live in a manner differing from their way of life, and by so doing, expose himself to the hatred and contempt of his relations. The missionary offered to establish this apostate in Martinico, and to give him lands for the support of himself and family, on condition of his again embracing Christianity; but he turned a deaf ear to all proposals of that kind. A Caraib would not often trouble himself about any religion which required thought or exertion.

A pious missionary of the name of Varringhen lived several years in Dominica, after the decease of the fathers Breton and De Beaumont, but his labours were as fruitless as those of his predecessors had been, and he returned to Martinico about the year 1700.

The Jesuits sent a mission of several fathers to the Caraibs of St. Vincents. They were encouraged and supported by Lewis XIV. but they were

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obliged to trust for a reward of their labours in another world. They reaped no more fruit among the Caraibs than the other missionaries had found. They merely baptized a few dying infants. About the year 1706, they were obliged to abandon St. Vincents altogether, as they discovered a plot of the Caraibs to put them all to death.

In some instances these islanders were faithless and treacherous. The English, in 1708, entered into an agreement with the Caraibs and Maroon negroes in St. Vincents, to attack the French colonies in Martinico and Grenada, making them many presents, and promising them the necessary assistance. The French governour general Machaut heard of the treaty, and sent the chevalier Coullet, of Martinico, who was a great favourite of the savages, to avert the impended storm, and to persuade the Caraibs and Maroons to continue the peace which had subsisted between them and the French for a number of years. This major Coullet had become popular among them, and much beloved, on account of his regaling them whenever they visited Martinico, giving them presents, and making them drunk. He took with him a numerous suite of officers and servants, with such provisions, liquors and presents as he thought would make him a welcome visitor among the Caraibs. He sailed from the road of St. Peter, Martinico, November the 29th, 1708, and the next day arrived at St. Vincents; but the sea being very rough, the small vessels the expedition consisted of could not approach the shore, where a number of Caraibs had assembled, being attracted by the sight of the vessels.—

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Coullet made himself known, and threw himself into the water to swim to the land. The Caraibs said one to another, that is our *compeer* Coullet, we must save whatever he has; they threw themselves into the water, and safely landed all the persons and the effects from the shallops. The compeer Coullet was conducted to the grand carbet, where all the chiefs of the Caraibs, and of the Maroons, assembled to testify their friendship and esteem. He made a feast to which all the principal Caraibs and Maroons were invited. They were liberally plied with rum and brandy, and when they were sufficiently inflamed, Coullet got himself roucoued, or painted red, like the Caraibs, and made them such presents, speeches and proposals, as induced them to renounce their connexion with the English.—He prevailed on them to burn all the timber the English had cut and drawn to the shore, ready for embarkation, to the amount of several thousands of pounds; he also persuaded them to give him two hostages as security for their violating their engagement with the English. They adhered to this new compact with Coullet, and butchered the first Englishmen who arrived in the island. Some of the limbs of those victims were sent *boucaner*, barbecued or jerked, to the French at Fort Royal.

But this practice of making trophies of the limbs of those they had slain, is not positive evidence of their being cannibals—it has rather a tendency to prove the contrary. Travellers and voyagers are apt to tell strange stories; and the Spaniards have doubtless given us many romances, respecting the natives of America. With a view to justify their

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own enormous and unexampled cruelties, they have, doubtless, slandered the much injured people of that quarter of the world. Columbus, the origin and cause of the evils the Indians have suffered, and the perpetrator of many of them, particularly in the conquest of St. Domingo, understood not the language of the Caraibs or their prisoners; and their signs might have been easily misunderstood. What he supposed to imply, that the Caraibs had eaten men, might signify nothing more than that they had consumed them by war. Signs as well as language may be figurative. Were we to believe all the stories which have been told, we might be persuaded that almost all the nations of the world have been cannibals. We have heard of Laestrigons, Cyclops, and many other such barbarians. If the Caraibs had eaten up all the inhabitants of Montserrat, we might wonder from whom Columbus received the information. When the Portuguese discovered Barbadoes, they found it totally uninhabited; and they might, with equal propriety, have reported that the Caraibs had eaten up all the inhabitants of that island also. *It is a land which eateth up the inhabitants thereof*—was part of the report which the spies who searched out the land of Canaan, carried to the commander of the Israelites. Many reports of cannibalism among nations have been groundless. Few people in the world had less occasion than the Caraibs to devour human flesh. Their manioc furnished them with a sufficiency of bread. Pigeons, parrots, partridges, and various other birds were abundant, as well as many kinds of fruit. The rivers and seas produc-

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ed endless supplies of fish. Some of the fishes they used as food were very large, such as the lamentines, and the paracotas. The paracotas is a very dangerous kind of shark, as it does not turn on its side in the water when it seizes its prey.—Those kinds of fish grow from fifteen to twenty feet long. They had, moreover, exhaustless stores of land crabs, which a French writer calls the manna of the Westindies. The crabs were a standing dish of the Caraibs, and with the taumalin sauce must have been very excellent. Next to the shell, which covers the back of the male crab, is found a greenish kind of meat which the Caraibs called taumalin; this, with the white fat, they took out of them, and put into their cocoa nutshell spoons. It was diluted with water and citron juice, or some other acid, and seasoned with pounded pimento.—While the bodies of the female crabs, with their eggs, which though small, are accounted a great delicacy, and the remainder of the male crabs were boiled; they stewed the taumalin; and when brought to the table, that is, the matatou, they dipped the morsels of crab in it, as the Europeans dip their meat in mustard. Hence it is evident that the Caraibs had made some advances in the culinary art. Few of the Europeans cook the crab in a manner so agreeable. The Caraibs did not always take the trouble; sometimes they threw the crabs on the fire and roasted them; or boiled them whole, and ate them without sauce, as is commonly the custom in Jamaica.

These facts afford presumptive evidence that the Caraibs were not such gross cannibals as the Span-

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iards have represented them to be; they had no occasion to devour men by the island. Had each of them been a Polyphemus, they could not have done so. That they were cannibals to a certain degree, we cannot doubt, if we credit the English and French writers; and, in general, I see no reason to disbelieve them, although they may have embellished a little. They assert that the Caraibs were not only cannibals, but that they were very great epicures in the article of human flesh. The French say, that the Caraibs tasted the flesh of all the European nations which had tried to possess themselves of their islands; and the Caraibs avowed that the flesh of the English was the most delicate and desirable of any they had tasted, being far superiour to that of the Spaniards or French. Like hounds, they traced men through the woods by the scent; and they could distinguish the track of an Englishman, or a negro, from that of a Frenchman or a Spaniard, by the sense of smelling. By the scent they would trace a man through the woods with the same precision, that a northern Indian traces a man by his footsteps; and they could tell whether it was an Englishman, a Frenchman, a Spaniard, or a negro, who had passed. This fact has been asserted with so much confidence, as leaves no room to doubt it. Indeed, it is not more extraordinary than the faculty by which dogs distinguish the track of their master, or their master's horses, from all other tracks. Beasts of prey can also exactly distinguish the difference of scent in the tracks of animals, and they follow only those which serve them for food. But a more extraordinary

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fact is, the power which sharks have of distinguishing objects. If they find an Englishman, a Frenchman, and a Spaniard in a boat, or in the water, they will always attack the Englishman first. This has often been verified, both in regard to the common shark and the paracotas. The paracotas has often found men of different nations in canoes or boats—it has raised itself, and snapped off the arm or other part of an Englishman, and left the men of other countries untouched. Sharks prefer a horse, or a dog, to a man; and they seize a negro in preference to an Englishman.

The French settled at St. Christopher's before they founded a colony in Martinico. That island was settled by the colony of St. Christopher's; but the Caraibs did not yield up the possession of it without a struggle. They were not a match for the arms, discipline, and tacticks of Europe; and when the French landed, they soon cooped the Caraibs up in the cabestern, or windward part of the island. In that particular spot, where fort St. Mary was afterward erected, a battle was fought in which the Caraibs were finally defeated; and such of them as escaped were obliged to fly to Dominica.

Perhaps one principal reason why the Caraibs rejected Christianity was, because, in the ninth article of the privileges granted to the missionaries in America, it was determined that the Caraibs or Indians converted to Christianity should not retain a plurality of wives; but that every man should dismiss them all except the one which pleased him best; or, if the first consented to be baptized, the

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husband was obliged to keep her. The Maroon negroes refuse to become Christians, because they are not allowed a plurality of wives; they say they cannot believe God has commanded them to abandon their women. They are willing to be baptized, if they are allowed to retain their old vicious habits; and that marrying a plurality of wives is a vicious practice, is evident; for as in almost all the countries we are acquainted with, there are more men than women born, the proportion being as thirteen to twelve, it is clear that if one man has several wives, several men must go without any wife.

The crabs on which the Caraibs chiefly lived, have been found by Europeans to be very heavy food and hard of digestion, producing heaviness and stupor; and the idleness and inactivity of the Caraibs has been ascribed to their using much of this kind of food. They adopted scarcely any of the fruits or vegetables of the Europeans; almost the only articles they received with pleasure from their oppressors being brandy and wine. They had in their islands abundance of sweet potatoes, and made considerable use of them.

Columbus represents the Caraib women as being destitute of clothing, except the brodekins or buskins, when he discovered the islands. Perhaps the women he saw were prepared to fight with, or to fly from, the Spaniards, as their ancient dress was that which has been already described. They raised cotton wool on the common cotton shrub of the islands; but they also gathered the cotton of the great cotton tree, which they called mahot, and

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made thread of it. The plantains they stripped into fibres, and made cloth of them. The bark of the white mangle tree they also spun into a kind of thread. A variety of articles were made from the fibres of the prickly and cabbage palm, which they made into a kind of hemp. From the leaves of those trees they made baskets, brooms, hammocks like nets, bags, and many other utensils; these articles were made pliant by means of fire.—Like the people of other countries, they had many signs and prognosticks; for instance, when the red mangle tree was full of fruit, they considered it as a certain prognostick of a hurricane.

Whether the Caraibs, or other Indians, possessed the sugar cane, is a matter of great uncertainty.—There is evidence on both sides of the question. The commonly received opinion respecting the sugar cane, is, that it is a native of the Eastindies, where it grows spontaneously. Thence its progress has been traced to Egypt, the island of Candia, to the Canaries, to Madeira, and thence to America. Rauwolf Jerome Benzon, and the author of the *Histoire Naturelle du Cacao et du Sucre*, one following the other, and others following them, have asserted that the Portuguese and Spaniards brought the sugar cane from India, and first cultivated it in Madeira and the Canaries; whence they transplanted it to the continent and islands of America.

The evidence on the other side is not destitute of weight, or unworthy of consideration. Jean De Laot, in his *Histoire de l'Amerique*, says, that the sugar cane grew naturally in the island of St. Vincent, which was inhabited by the Caraibs. The

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French who first settled in St. Christopher's, Martinico, and Guadaloupe, found the sugar cane growing in those islands, of which, their writers say, it was a natural production; and that from the plants found spontaneously growing there, they cultivated the cane; and that the same species continued to be planted in the islands, until it was superseded by the great Bourbon cane, now in general use in the islands.

Father Hennipen and other voyagers have asserted, that they found very fine sugar canes growing in great abundance in the low lands, near the mouths of the Missisippi.

Francis Ximenes, in his treatise on the nature and virtues of the plants of America, printed at Mexico, assures us that the sugar cane grew naturally, and without culture, in the environs of La Plata; and that they grew of a size and height to resemble trees; the heat of the sun causing the sugar to exude from the crevices in the bark or rind, as the gum issues from many kinds of trees in hot weather.

Jean de Lery, a Calvinistick minister, who joined general Villegagnon at fort Caligny, in 1556, on the coast of Brazil, or rather on an island in the river Janeiro, or January, in twentythree and a half degrees of south latitude, that is, exactly under the tropick of Capricorn, affirms, that he found sugar canes in all the environs of that river. That was before the Portuguese had settled in those parts; consequently the canes must have been indigenous.

Captain Thomas Gage, who made the voyage of New Spain in 1625, asserts, that in the road of

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Guadaloupe, the Caraibs presented him with various kinds of fruit and sugar canes.

Those who insist that the Portuguese and Spaniards conveyed the cane to America, maintain that there was sufficient time before the arrival of the English and French in the Antilles, to introduce the cane there; and, although the Spaniards never made any settlements in those islands, it is probable the Caraibs, who were an adventurous people, had procured it from the Spaniards or Portuguese on the continent, or from the large islands. For the Spaniards had planted it in the Canaries more than a century, and they had made sugar on the continent and in the large islands of America, more than forty years before the time we are speaking of. But it is not probable they planted it in the Antilles, for Cromwell stocked such of those islands as he touched at with hogs; and they are mortal enemies of the sugar cane, no animals being more destructive to it; and if the cane was indigenous, we cannot but wonder the hogs did not destroy it.

It may be objected that if sugar canes formerly grew on the banks of La Plata, the Janeiro, and the Missisippi, it is surprising they do not grow there still; and that the cane does not now, as formerly, thrive on wet, swampy, uncultivated ground. It now requires cultivation, and a soil which is not watery. That the cane does not appear to be capable of reproducing or continuing its species here, as in the course of a few years it wears out. In some ground, it requires planting annually, and it does not, in the soil best adapted to it, continue many years. I have sought for the sugar cane in

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the uncultivated parts of America—but in vain; it certainly does not grow wild here; but there are canes in marshy situations which nearly resemble it—except that they do not contain the sweet juice.

As to the sugar cane not being now found near the great rivers of South and North America, it may be accounted for, even supposing they grew there in the manner travellers have related. Cattle and hogs are remarkably fond of the cane, and as they have been allowed, as well as horses, to run wild, there can be no difficulty in believing they would soon exterminate it from a whole country. The cane must be produced spontaneously somewhere; and, Why might it not be produced near the Plata, the Janeiro, and the Missisippi, as well as in any other part of the world? This plant is not propagated from roots, seeds or slips. It is reproduced from knots which grow near the top of the stalk or stem, three, four or five feet from the ground. In order to perpetuate the plant, therefore, in a natural way, it is necessary the stalks should be broken down, or fall on the ground; and that by the overflowing of water, or some other means, it should be slightly covered with soil, and this might naturally happen near the rivers of America which overflow their banks. In countries where there are rainy seasons, as is commonly the case within the tropicks, the cane, by being kept wet on the ground some days, would probably put forth roots and shoots, so that it might be propagated naturally on dry ground, when it was not choked by wood or weeds. Those who cultivate the cane, when they cut it to grind, if they have

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land ready to plant, cut twelve or eighteen inches of the top of the cane, with two or three knots in it.—These pieces are laid along in trenches, and slightly covered with earth; and the knots soon send forth roots and young stalks. In land where the cane will last several years, the roots expand, and each of them produces several canes.

Whatever the origin of the cane may have been, or wherever it was first found—the Spaniards cultivated it in the Canaries early in the sixteenth century; and about the year 1580, both the Spaniards and Portuguese began to manufacture sugar in America; there was, therefore, sufficient time for the Caraibs to procure the sugar cane from the continent, or from Hispaniola before the English and French settled among them, which did not take place till about the time captain Gage made his voyage, i. e. the year 1625. The English made their first sugar in St. Kitts, in the year 1643; and the same year they commenced making it in Barbadoes. The French, under the direction of some Dutchmen, commenced making sugar in 1648, at Guadaloupe.

From these remarks, it will be seen that it is almost impossible to ascertain whether the Caraibs had, or had not, the sugar cane as one of their indigenous plants; but there is much reason to presume they had it not.

Such are the principal facts I have been able to collect, respecting the Caraibs. A few rough drawings are inclosed, which may serve to elucidate some parts of the subject.

WILLIAM SHELDON.

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APPENDIX.

ACCOUNT OF A GREAT AND VERY EXTRAORDINARY CAVE IN INDIANA.

In a Letter from the Owner to a Gentleman in Frankfort, Kentucky.

Communicated to the PRESIDENT of the AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, by JOHN H. FARNHAM, Esq. of Frankfort, Ohio—with the following Remarks, viz.—"To the Chymist and Natural Philosopher, the Indiana Cave presents a most interesting theatre of experiment and speculation; and I congratulate the publick, that it is in the possession and ownership of a gentleman of the enlarged and liberal mind of Mr. ADAMS."

State of Indiana, February 27, 1818.

DEAR SIR,

YOUR letter, requesting a description of my EPSOM SALTS CAVE has come to hand. From the particulars enumerated in your request, the information on each point must necessarily be very limited.

The Cave is situated in the northwest quarter of Section 27, in Township No. 3, of the Second Easterly Range in the district of lands offered for sale at Jeffersonville. The precise time of its discovery is difficult to ascertain. I have conversed with several men who had made several transient visits to the interiour of the Cave about eleven years ago, at which time it must have exhibited a very interesting appearance, being, to use their own phraseology, *covered like snow* with the Salts. At this period some describe the Salts to have been from six to nine inches deep, on the bottom of the Cave, on which lumps of an enormous size were interspersed, while the sides presented the same impressive spectacle with the bottom, being covered with the same production. Making liberal allowances for the hyperbole of discoverers and visitors, I cannot help thinking that the scenery of the interiour at this time was highly interesting, and extremely picturesque. I found this opinion upon conversations with General *Harrison* and Major *Floyd*, who visited the Cave at an early period, and whose intelligence would render them less liable to be deceived by novel appearances.

The hill, in which the Cave is situated, is about four hundred feet high from the base to the most elevated point; and the prospect to the southeast, in a clear day, is exceedingly fine, commanding an extensive view of the hills and valleys bordering on Big Blue River. The top of the hill is covered principally with oak and chesnut. The side to the southeast is mantled with cedar. The entrance is about midway from the base to the summit, and the surface of the Cave preserves in general about that elevation; although I must acknowledge this to be conjectural, as no experiments have been made with a view to ascertain the fact. It is probably owing to this middle situation of the Cave, that it is much drier than is common.

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After entering the Cave by an aperture of 12 or 15 feet wide, and in height, in one place, three or four feet, you descend with easy and gradual steps into a large and spacious room, which continues about a quarter of a mile, pretty nearly the same in appearance, varying in height from eight to thirty feet, and in breadth from ten to twenty. In this distance the roof is, in some places, arched; in others a plane; and in one place, particularly, it resembles an inside view of the roof of a house. At the distance above named the Cave forks; but the right hand fork soon terminates, while the left rises by a flight of rocky stairs, nearly ten feet high, into another story, and pursues a course at this place nearly southeast. Here the roof commences a regular arch, the height of which, from the floor, varies from five to eight feet, and the width of the Cave from six to twelve feet; which continues to what is called the *Creeping Place*, from the circumstance of having to crawl ten or twelve feet into the next large room. From this place to the "PILLAR," a distance of about one mile and a quarter, the visitor finds an alternate succession of large and small rooms, variously decorated; sometimes mounting elevated points by gradual or difficult ascents, and again descending as far below; sometimes travelling on a pavement, or climbing over huge piles of rocks, detached from the roof by some convulsion of nature; and thus continues his route, until he arrives at the Pillar.

The aspect of this large and stately white column, as it comes in sight from the dim reflection of the torches, is grand and impressive. Visitors have seldom pushed their inquiries farther than two or three hundred yards beyond this Pillar. This column is about fifteen feet in diameter, from twenty to thirty in height, and regularly reeded from the top to the bottom. In the vicinity of this spot are some inferiour Pillars of the same appearance and texture. Chymically speaking, it is difficult for me to say what are the constituent parts of these columns, but lime appears to be the base. Major *Warren*, who is certainly a competent judge, is of opinion that they are *Satin Spar*.

I have thus given you an imperfect sketch of the mechanical structure and appearance of the Cave. It only remains to mention its productions.

The first in importance is the *Sulphat of Magnesia*, or *Epsom Salts*, which, as has been previously remarked, abounds throughout this Cave in almost its whole extent, and which I believe has no parallel in the history of that article. This neutral Salt is found in a great variety of forms, and in many different stages of formation. Sometimes in lumps, varying from one to ten pounds in weight. The earth exhibits a shining appearance, from the numerous particles interspersed throughout the huge piles of dirt collected in different parts of the Cave. The walls are covered in different places with the same article, and reproduction goes on rapidly. With a view to ascertain this fact, I removed from a particular place every vestige of Salt, and in four or five weeks the place was covered with small needle shaped crystals, exhibiting the appearance of frost.

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The quality of the Salt in this Cave is inferiour to none; and when it takes its proper stand in regular and domestick practice, must be of national utility. With respect to the resources of this Cave, I will venture to say, that every competent judge must pronounce it inexhaustible. The worst earth that has been tried, will yield four pounds of Salt to the bushel; and the best, from twenty to twentyfive pounds.

The next production is the *Nitrate of Lime*, or Saltpetre Earth. There are vast quantities of this earth, and equal in strength to any that I have ever seen. There are also large quantities of the *Nitrate of Alkimina*, or *Nitrate of Argil*, which will yield as much *Nitrate of Potash*, or Saltpetre, in proportion to the quantities of earth, as the *Nitrate of Lime*.

The three articles above enumerated are first in quantity and importance; but there are several others which deserve notice, as subjects of philosophical curiosity. The *Sulphat of Lime*, or Plaster of Paris, is to be seen variously formed; ponderous, crystallised and impalpable or soft, light, and rather spongy. Vestiges of the *Sulphat of Iron* are also to be seen in one or two places. Small specimens of the *Carbonate*, and also the *Nitrate of Magnesia*, have been found. The rocks in the Cave principally consist of *Carbonate of Lime*, or common limestone.

I had almost forgotten to state, that near the forks of the Cave are two specimens of painting, probably of Indian origin. The one appears to be a savage, with something like a bow in his hand, and furnishes the hint, that it was done when that instrument of death was in use. The other is so much defaced, that it is impossible to say what it was intended to represent.

BENJAMIN ADAMS.

ERRATA.

Page 44, line 4 from the bottom, for *these* read *them*.—p. 49, l. 11 fr. top, after *and* read *with the*.—p. 68, l. 14 fr. b. read *firs* and oaks. —p. 108, l. 17 fr. b. read *William S. Murphy*.—p. 111, l. 7 fr. t. and p. 125, l. 11 fr. t. read *modern* Indians.—p. 115, l. 15 fr. t. for *Canadeucis* read *Canadensis*.—p. 116, l. 5 fr. t. for *salter* read *alter*, same p. l. 8 fr. t. for *uterque* read *uteraque*.—p. 117, l. 12 fr. b. for *Touti* read *Tonti*.—p. 122, l. 2 and 3 fr. b. for *Catarangus* read *Cataraugus*.—p. 128, l. 8 fr. b. for *or* read *on*.—p. 129, l. 2 fr. b. for *wood, ashes*, read *woodashes*.—p. 131, l. 10 fr. t. for *a stone* read *minerals*.—p. 133, l. 9 fr. t. before *their* read *If*.—p. 136, l. 12 fr. b. for *are* read *is*.—p. 141, l. 14 fr. b. for *feet* read *rods*.—p. 142, l. 11 fr. t. for *two rods, and more* read *at the distance of two rods*.—p. 143, l. 10 fr. t. dele *from*.—p. 148, l. 8 fr. b. for *limestone* read *Limestone*.—p. 152, l. 11 fr. t. for *river* read *creek*.—p. 164, l. 2 fr. b. for *urba* read *urbe*. —p. 199, l. 2 fr. t. for *Lowthee* read *Lowther*.—p. 201, l. 11 fr. t. for *Adam Clarke* read *Edward Daniel Clarke*.—p. 249, l. 3 fr. t. before *is* insert *it*.—p. 284, l. 13 fr. t. for *maked* read *made*.—p. 370, l. 5 fr. b. for *annatto* read *arnatto*.—p. 420, l. 15 fr. b. after *He* insert *not only*.

From page 60 to 104, we have followed the old English translation of Hennipen's Voyages, in the spelling, &c.

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